

PLURALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN SENEGAL

by

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To my mother, Emma, and the memory of my
father, Charles-Henri Bernier (1900-1966)

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SUMMARY

The scramble for Africa has brought within the same territories people characterised, among other things, by varying languages, religions, customs and socio-political structures. Recently, these colonies, previously maintained by the authority and power of the coloniser, have become independent states whose unity must rest, more than ever before, uniquely on internal cohesion. Not surprisingly, the main threat to the very existence of the new African state and the main impediment to the emergence of a national community guaranteeing such an existence, is the marked diversity in the character of the population. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the lack of national integration is the most immediate problem of several new African states. The absence or the weak development of national integration will no doubt foster the disintegration of many states. But the fact remains that Africa is on the way to the formation of national communities; in some countries it is possible to spot signs of national integration.

This passage from ethnic pluralism to national integration is the result of an historical process lasting over several generations. As most African states have achieved independence within only the past fifteen years, it could

be objected to that it is still too early to look into this question. However, several new African states have experienced many decades of existence within the binding framework of a territorial and administrative structure. This research shows that it would be unwise to pay scant attention to this fact. Indeed, the colonial situation has contributed greatly to national integration. This study seeks to verify this hypothesis through the analysis of a single case, Senegal. Its aim is, in fact, to demonstrate that there has been national integration in Senegal and to understand the major role of colonialism in this process.

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INTRODUCTION

1. The study of integration.

The coherent character of society has been for a long time an object of thought. As Levine noted, Vico and Montesquieu saw in the beliefs, laws and customs of society a set of significant and interrelated traits ; Burke and Maistre compared society to an organism in which natural equilibrium had to be preserved ; Rousseau, Herder and Chaadev saw in the incarnation of distinctive principles the source of unity of societies (1). These authors perceived the phenomenon of integration but they did not describe, analyse and study its structure and dynamics. It is not until the end of the 19th century that an author, Durkheim (2), pays particular attention to the problem of integration as a distinct phenomenon. Durkheim's analysis remained the major contribution during the following 40 years and inspired all thought on the subject up to today. On the other hand, Durkheim's decisive contribution should not obscure that of two of his contemporaries : Weber and

(1) Levine, D.N., 1968, p. 373.

(2) Durkheim, E., (1893) 1960; (1897) 1960; (1912) 1960.

Malinowski (3). The former did not neglect to see in coherence one of the fundamental characteristics of social reality. Malinowski, for his part, struck by the relationships existing in society and by the coherence which emerges, wanted to see how such a phenomenon was possible and what were its main manifestations. During the brief phase 1935-1950, three great names in general sociology, Sorokin, Parsons and Merton (4), laid the foundations of the first theories of integration. These authors confirmed the importance of this process in the understanding of the social structure and dynamics. For the first time integration became the object of special studies. It polarized the interests of many other writers such as Benedict, Kluckhohn, Kroeber and Opler (5). From the early 1950's, the theoretical building of integration begins to be elaborated. This period is characterised not only by the much greater importance given to the phenomenon of integration, but also by the diversity of approaches used to

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- (3) Weber, M., (1904-1905) 1948. Malinowski, B., (1926) 1961; (1931) 1935.
 - (4) Sorokin, P., 1936; 1937-1941; (1947) 1962. Parsons, T., (1937) 1968; (1949) 1966; (1951) 1964; 1960. Merton, R.K., (1949) 1957; (1949) 1967.
 - (5) Benedict, R., 1934. Kluckhohn, C., (1951) 1959. Kroeber, A.L., 1944; 1948. Opler, M.E., 1959.

understand it and the great number of empirical studies on the subject. This contribution came mostly from sociologists and political scientists such as Parsons, Dahrendorf, Landecker and Deutsch (6).

In both the theoretical and empirical works which resulted from this long development, there is a great diversity in the approaches and methods, as well as in the problems studied. As to the definition of integration, there is no consensus among the authors and certain definitions differ a great deal. This explains the lack of unity in the theory of integration. Nevertheless, there exists a common point among the scholars : all recognize the importance or the central place of the process of integration in social dynamics. In fact, passing from Durkheim to Deutsch via Parsons, the idea that the survival of all society implies relationships between its diverse parts has always existed and has even been reinforced. Three disciplines in particular have made the phenomenon of integration one of their fields of important investigation : sociology, political science and anthropology. Thinking in linguistic, psychology and geography has also contributed to the understanding of the phenomenon. However, geography's contribution as a discipline has been rather weak.

(6) Parsons, see footnote (4). Dahrendorf, R., 1959. Landecker, W.S., 1950-1951; 1952. Deutsch, K.W., 1952-1953; 1953; 1957; 1966.

Therefore, it is not surprising that studies on integration, made from such diverse perspectives, have been at the basis of a multitude of explanatory principles and hypotheses and finally several theories of integration. Although many, these theories do not give a general knowledge of the phenomenon because they are incomplete. Indeed, each of these theories treats only some aspects or considers only a few variables. Consequently, the understanding of the process remains narrow and extremely partial. Large gaps remain to be filled by theoretical and empirical studies in order to ensure coherence in each of these theories and to reduce the contradictions between them. However, in spite of these gaps, enormous from certain points of view, the present knowledge is sufficiently developed to act as a guideline in research.

As far as national integration is concerned, the small number and especially the great weaknesses of the studies must be noted. The majority of authors referred to hitherto, have completely neglected this type of integration. Karl Deutsch is the only one who has seriously given attention to it. This lack of interest on the part of the great sociologists can no doubt be explained by the fact that they were more interested in the social-cultural aspects of societies. Nevertheless, it is strange that even at this

level of observation, the question of cohesion in the national society was not considered.

In Africa, studies on integration can be situated at three different levels : continental, international and national. On the continental level, the study of Rupert Emerson on Pan-Africanism is to be noted (7). Emerson does not study the phenomenon of integration in itself but he underlines the signs and existing conditions which seem favorable to the grouping of different African states in a supernational structure. On the international level, studies only bring out the advantages and certain conditions for possible integration and suggest certain unions. They have an ideological and normative rather than a scientific character. Therefore, contrary to the above mentioned studies, they are of no help in understanding or explaining the phenomenon. On the national level, scholars such as Almond, Coleman, Rosberg and Soja (8) have made interesting attempts to analyse and explain the phenomenon. Almond's, Coleman's and Rosberg's studies are most useful because of their general and explanatory character. On the other hand, Soja's, which deals with territorial integration and try to measure rather than to explain the process, will not be of great help.

(7) Emerson, R., 1962.

(8) Almond, G.A. and Coleman, J.S. (ed.), 1960. Coleman, J.S., 1955. Coleman, J.S. and Rosberg, C. G., (ed.) 1970. Soja, E. W., 1968.

2. The problem of integration.

It is necessary before studying the national integration of a given country to consider the problem of integration. In fact, every study presupposes a theoretical position and is set within a frame of reference. Every hypothesis is always set, implicitly or explicitly, in a general theoretical perspective. The validity and efficiency of an analysis depends on the quality of these foundations.

Integration is at the heart of social reality. Wherever there is a society, there is integration. In fact, a society is composed of individuals and forms at the same time a whole of which the unity rests on the interdependence of its members. This unity is the foundation of society itself and must be considered in the study of all social phenomenon. Yet, this unity may have quite varied characteristics on which will depend other aspects of social dynamics. Thus, it is crucially important to know the degree and nature of this unity. Although every scholar recognises integration as an empirical fact, there is no agreement on its definition and the methods of its investigation.

Among the numerous definitions put forward, some deserve special attention because they point out the essential characteristics of the phenomenon. Durkheim, in 1893, spoke of "mechanical solidarity" (integration of parts through common values and beliefs, which constitute a collective conscience enabling persons and groups to cooperate successfully) and "organic solidarity" (integration through interdependence : the parts of the whole reciprocate services, as do the parts of an organism) (9). Sorokin, a few decades later distinguished in the socio-cultural system two types of integration : the "causal-functional" (concerned with the operative interdependence of cultural elements in the ongoing social system) and the "logico-meaningful". Nevertheless, this author only considered this last type which he believed superior to the first and which he saw as a "meaningful cultural system" involving "the identity of the fundamental principles and values that permeate all its parts" (10). Radcliffe-Brown, for his part, spoke of functional unity rather than integration : "a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony in internal consistency, that is, without producing persistent conflict which can neither be resolved nor regulated" (11). This idea of "smooth, peaceful change" is

(9) Durkheim, E., (1893) 1960, Book 1, chap. 2 and 3.
See also Angell, R. C. 1968, p. 381.

(10) Sorokin, P., (1937-1941) Vol. 1, chap. 1 and 2; Vol. 4, chap. 1, 2 and 3. Idem.

(11) Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., 1935, p. 397. See also Merton, R. K., (1949) 1967, p. 79-80.

also found in the definition of Karl Deutsch, a scholar who has brought a most fruitful contribution to the theory of integration. Here is how he defines integration in Political Community and the North Atlantic Area : " the attainment within a territory of a sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful changes among its population " (12). This definition, it is to be noted, points out the territorial aspect of the phenomenon. Michael Hass sees integration in terms of functioning and interdependence : " the smooth functioning and structural linkage of parts within political systems " (13). The definition which seems the most inclusive in the perspective of the general dynamics of society is undoubtedly that of Talcott Parsons. To him integration is " a mode of relations of the units of a system by virtue of which, on the one hand, they act so as collectively to avoid disrupting the system and making it impossible to maintain its stability, and, on the other hand, to cooperate, to promote its functioning as a unity " (14). What is striking in this definition are the ideas of interdependence, stability, change and diversity in unity. Compared with Deutsch's this definition illustrates better the dynamic character of the phenomenon and seems more complete.

(12) Deutsch, K.W., et al., 1957, p. 5.

(13) Haas, M. and Kariel, H.S. (ed.), 1970, p. 39.

(14) Parsons, T., (1949) 1966, p. 71.

Once these basic definitions have been considered, it becomes possible and interesting to pursue the analysis and to bring out different types of integration, among which is national integration. The usual distinctions advanced reflect highly different points of view. There are, for example, types of integration corresponding to different broad levels of society : cultural integration, political integration and economic integration. Some scholars, in a functionalist perspective, have recognised two particular types of integration : regulative and functional integration. Both these groupings of types try to encompass the process of integration as a whole through the interplay of variables which vary from one case to another. On the other hand, other authors have singled out types of integration stemming from a single variable which in their view fills an important role in the realisation of the process. Accordingly, two main types are often mentioned : normative integration and communicative integration (15). Even though these distinctions are valid from the analytical point of view, they divide a process whose realisation involves the interplay of different levels of society and certain key variables. To be able to contain the complex interplay of these different aspects, another classification is therefore necessary. Some

(15) See in particular, Landecker, W.S., 1950-1951.

authors have distinguished between international, national and territorial integration. In the perspective of today's society, where the territorial state is the fundamental unit, these types seem more adequate. The last two types are relevant to this study. However, their definition is controversial. Some authors confound them while others invert the meaning (16). In this study, national integration refers "to the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of a national identity" (17). Territorial integration would rather be the extension of state authority over regions of its territory which until now were not under its control. The second meaning that could be given to territorial integration would be the functional rapprochement of economic and/or socio-cultural regions. Given that in the process of national integration there is often territorial integration in the latter sense, there is danger of confusion and this no doubt explains why some people are tempted to confound them.

Like every process, national integration is made of an aggregate of variables that must be identified (see the following page). These variables are numerous since national integration is a phenomenon that touches several

(16) See Weiner, M., 1965, p. 53, 54.

(17) Idem, p. 53.

aspects of social reality. Moreover they have a general character which comes from a lack of rigour in the theory of integration and the paradigms to which one must refer to understand the phenomenon. It is to be noted that in order to simplify, only two of the most determinant international variables appear on the table : colonialism and international conflicts. All these variables are not always present or do not act at the same time. In fact, the process may only be the result of the interplay of a few or again of many of them. An added interest could be, in a theoretical perspective, a comparative analysis of cases which take place in different time and place. Moreover, all these variables do not always play a positive role in integration and may even have contrary effects. Only future research could show the conditions in which they play a positive or negative role.

Another aspect of primary importance to consider is the temporal character of national integration. In fact, it is a process which supposes transformations so deep and so vast that these can only be realised over a long period, several generations for instance. Integration exceeds formal political organisation of society: A society in its process of integration necessarily passes through various phases of political, economic, and social organisation. The process of integration is a continuum

which takes successive and different forms, and it is possible in referring to one or some precise variables to point out its main phases. In fact, the realisation of the process is successively dominated by the action of one or a few given variables, for example : the diffusion of a language or religion. The long duration of the process does not exclude phases of upheaval (governmental crise , revolution, independence movement). Nevertheless , the length of the phases of stability must prevail if integration is to be achieved.

The analysis of a phenomenon implies causal explanation just as much as simple identification and description of variables. No causal model of national integration has yet been elaborated and the only works which may be of some help are the general sociological theories and some empirical studies. It is possible to deal with this issue at two different levels. First, on a global level, which consists of explaining the existence and evolution of the process as a phenomenon in social dynamics. At this level, there exists a series of hypotheses which vary according to the diverse conceptions of society and it is in referring to them and analysing them in the light of empirical cases that it is possible to make a judicious choice. But causal explanation of the process of integration may equally be looked for at the level of interrelations between different

variables of its structure. The idea then is to see how the variables react to one another, how they are determined mutually and especially how they are synchronized in the development of the process. To understand the phenomenon of integration, it is necessary to approach it in a perspective of circular causality. In fact, it is impossible in the present state of knowledge to systematically place the different variables in rank-order as to their causal value or to place them in their relations of sequential necessity. However, this is exactly the aim that a theory should follow to be really explanatory. In view of the weak development of methodology, it is impossible even in the detailed study of a case to grasp precisely these relations. What is possible to do is to observe the evolution of each of the variables, to show how several variables may be linked together and to try to understand their causal ties. Then, in the light of general hypotheses, it becomes possible to understand the different factors behind the successive phases of integration and to outline in general terms the synchronisation of these factors.

The study of national integration poses specific theoretical problems that should be briefly considered. Fundamentally, the issue of national integration involves a defined territorial unit, a centralized administrative and

political organisation covering the whole territory and discrete socio-cultural groups. National integration consists in a rupture or in a progressive reduction of discontinuities between these groups and in a development of solidarity resulting in the formation of a political community including all the populations living within the defined territorial unit. Thus, the other types of integration already mentioned and the factors that determine them should be seen in the perspective of the formation of this political community. The role of these different processes will therefore be positive or negative whether it favours the extension of solidarities throughout the whole territory (territorial community) or reinforces regionalisms.

The spatial aspect takes on a particular importance when national integration is little developed. Generally, in these conditions the socio-cultural discrete groups occupy different regions with which they identify rather than with the state territory. National integration supposes the disappearance of these " boundaries ", that is the dislocation of regional groups and the structuring on a territorial - community basis of the socio-cultural and political " boundaries " of the individuals involved. The analysis of national integration requires therefore that particular attention be directed to factors which

progressively reduce the socio-cultural particularisms of different groups and which introduce new patterns of relations and cultural denominators which tend to enlarge collective consciousness on a territorial - community basis : the diffusion of a religion, the extension of a centralized administration, the development of transportation, the introduction of a uniform educational system ... National integration has been a very important phenomenon in social reality for about the last two centuries. In fact, with the coming of the state as the basic unit of political organisation of societies, national integration has become the fundamental process which reinforces the existence, and assures the survival, of a political society. It is therefore a very contemporary question which concerns every state and which, in Africa, has taken-on a particular importance since decolonisation.

3. The current importance of national integration in Africa.

National integration is a crucial problem in Africa owing to its absence or its weak development in most states. This is not surprising if it is considered that 1) less than a century ago Black Africa consisted of a multitude of ethnic groups separated by elements such as values, modes of livelihood, customs, socio-political

organisations, regions, languages, religions ...; 2) that the political divisions which independent Africa inherited were the result of colonial rivalries and practical decisions directed towards good administration. Thus, it is usual to find in new African states several ethnic groups to which individuals identify first, and this more especially as very often the weak development of commerce and communications reinforce the isolation of these groups. From such a situation follows many difficulties which represent a constant challenge to the survival of the states.

The survival of the state is fundamentally tied to two groups of conditions : firstly, international conditions, and secondly, internal conditions. In certain situations, the survival of the state will depend on the interplay of these two categories. Here, since national integration is involved, it is the internal conditions that must be considered in order to see how they may threaten or assure the existence of the state. In Africa, as elsewhere, the existence of the state depends on 1) the extension of the control of state authority to the whole of the territorial-community; 2) the existence of mechanisms capable of solving tensions and social conflicts; 3) the loyalty of the citizens towards the state authority. Diversity or pluralism, absence or weak development of collective

consciousness, and weakness of the impress of state administration on the different groups, are conditions which do not meet these requirements. Hence the potential and hidden danger which threatens the state. Could a state threatened from outside mobilise the different social groups to preserve its integrity? And if the threat came from inside, following rivalries between different ethnic groups, could central authority control the situation and prevent the dislocation of the state? At the present time, it is force which is the efficient instrument in the hands of the central authority to protect the coherence and existence of the state. However, it is always possible that an ethnic groups has the necessary strength to resist and even defy state authority. The Congo and Nigeria crises are examples which show the possibility of upheavals. Furthermore, the internal structure of African states offers conditions favourable to the rise of inter-community conflicts or the intensification of those that already exist. Thus, it may be concluded that the survival of the state in its present form is far from being assured and serious crises are to be expected in the next few decades.

The lack of national integration in African states does not only put in question the survival of the state. It is also responsible for a rather weak internal political

structure. The socio-cultural division of the society tends to engender a ruling class coming from one or certain groups with the exclusion of others and to give rise to policies of a limited dimension serving the interests of certain groups to the detriment of others. This causes frustration, resentment and opposition which often force the state to use coercion to assure its minimum administrative functions. The uneasiness which follows often leads to plots, violent inter-group conflicts and even coups d'état. Since 1960, many states have known coups d'état and are now ruled by military regimes and the hypothesis that the lack of national integration was one of the main responsible factors may be put forward. Besides, it may be asked if the efficient functioning of a political regime is possible in a society where there is no national integration. Political stability supposes a cooperation between the citizens and the presence of several ethnic groups discourages such a cooperation in African states. In short, the socio-cultural heterogeneity of the population influences the modes of political participation in an ethnocentric way rather than in a national one, and this consequently reduces and restrains the effective functioning of the state.

The economic development of the African states also suffers due to this lack of national integration. In a

state, industrialisation and commercialisation require a coordination which supposes a consensus between state authority and the population. Now, the tensions which exist between ethnic groups, and between ethnic groups and state authority, and the persistence of the ethnic groups as a fundamental social reality makes this coordination and consequently the application of economic policies most appropriate to the needs of both the citizens and the territorial-community practically impossible. The setting-up in a given region of a particular economic activity necessarily gives advantages to the local group and can easily be perceived as a privilege by other groups. The central authority conscious of this problem and anxious to keep the cohesion and unity of the state, can therefore be paralysed. Just as in the case of political stability, economic development supposes a consensus which goes beyond regional boundaries and includes the whole territory.

The boundaries of African states are vulnerable as a consequence of a lack of national integration. The delimitation of these boundaries, as is widely known, has hardly ever taken ethnicity into consideration; it often divides groups or again cuts-off certain ethnic groups from their traditional field of economic activities. These situations can give rise to either territorial claims or boundary violations and even expansionist ventures.

Boundaries in Africa is a burning subject which in some cases has given rise to violent conflicts; and this problem will remain as long as the population of different states will not identify themselves primarily with the new state to which they belong.

Pan-Africanism is not a new idea and leaders such as Kwame N'Krumah, Sékou Toure, Modibo Keita, Sédar Senghor have imagined bold projects and have even attempted regional unions, most of which, it is true, ended in failure. There exist in Africa international organisations such as O.A.U., O.A.M.C.E...but every one of them is pledged to respect the territorial divisions inherited from the coloniser even if, in principle, they accept the possibility of boundary changes. However, the fact that national integration is very little developed and that governments are aware of this discourages close relations between states in so far as they risk underlining internal divisions and favouring patterns of relationships contrary to the interests of the states involved. This is probably one of the main reasons why international organisations and regional groupings play a very superficial role in Africa. Pan-africanism remains therefore a distant ideal and one of the obstacles to its realisation is the threat which it represents to the sovereignty of states lacking internal cohesion and with a very weakly development of collective

consciousness. Nevertheless, it must be added that in particular conditions such a lack of national integration could be a positive factor which would enable large scale regional groupings. Two scenarios would be possible : 1) a very strong, emotional, unifying movement led by a highly charismatic leader; 2) the breaking-out of a series of international conflicts involving present territorial units.

After these considerations, it may well be asked if national integration in new African states is possible. It is true that in several states it is almost entirely absent. However, it is also true that in some countries it is possible to see signs of development of a collective consciousness. In some cases the process has already begun to materialise and internal conditions suggest that it will develop more extensively. Present conditions will no doubt foster the dislocation of many states. Nonetheless, it seems that Africa is moving towards the formation of modern states. In fact, in today's world the state is the fundamental unit of political society and the type of political organisation made legitimate by international law and consequently protected by the powerful states which dominate the structure and dynamic of the international system. Therefore, it is hard to see how great powers would permit a general dismemberment of present states. It is in their general interests to protect the status

quo. Moreover, these interests coincide with those of a westernised political élite who, on one hand, has learned to see in the national state the symbol of individual and collective liberty and who, on the other hand, is very refractory to every changes which would put at risk its own dominant role inside each state. Therefore, both the uncertainty created by all these problems and the irreversible evolution of Africa towards the formation of national states add a great deal of interest to the analysis of the process of national integration in this continent.

National integration will play a major role in the destiny of African societies. Will states continue to exist in their present form? Will inter-state relationships develop harmoniously and finally lead to regional integration? Will civil wars and international conflicts break out? These are questions that remain without answers and that a better understanding of the process of national integration in Africa would help to resolve.

4. Distinctive characteristics of the process of national integration in African states.

In Africa, the process of national integration was and is developed in particular conditions that must be well underlined to be able to analyse and to understand

in detail the process within a given country. This may be done by pointing out the main factors involved.

The first and the most important of these factors is the colonial experience which during the last one hundred years determined the whole of the political, social and economic reality of Africa. First, the partition of Africa in precise and enduring territorial units was the direct result of colonial decisions based on European rivalries and practical reasons rather than on the socio-political realities of the milieu. Moreover, the coloniser made these territorial units distinctive in different ways. The direct effect of colonialism was also exercised by the administrative regime imposed in each colony to assure the realisation of the policies undertaken. This regime whose control and authority extended over the whole territory, meant the establishment of a bureaucratic structure and administrative divisions which most often ignored pre-existing socio-cultural realities. This situation prevailed especially in colonies characterised by direct rule. In this case, in addition to encouraging and creating contacts between the central authority and different ethnic groups as well as between ethnic groups themselves, colonial rule undermined the bases of traditional authority and caused the disappearance of indigenous judicial institutions by imposing a uniform system. Briefly, colonial rule, according to its characteristics,

had more or less decisive influence on traditional institutions and consequently upon the cohesion of existing social groups and the formation of a territorial-community. The colonial movement, moreover, had other effects which although not tied to its purely political aspects were very important.

In more recent times decolonisation is another important factor. Independent Africa has often contrived to strengthen the colonial heritage. Colonial units, for example, did not only survive intact, but they were consolidated by the status of sovereignty and by the common will to respect it. In colonies subjected to direct administration, the spirit of such a rule has persisted after decolonisation. On the other hand, in colonies subjected to indirect rule, independence has often greatly accentuated both administrative and political centralisation. Moreover, decolonisation as a factor in an elite/mass polarisation has greatly contributed to the emergence of a collective consciousness. Thereafter came nationalism and these two factors were mutually reinforcing. In today's political culture, nationalism necessarily refers to a pattern of political reality in which territory is the fundamental base. In Africa, the territory is a direct inheritance from the coloniser. Thus, decolonisation, nationalism and independence, three movements intimately associated, not only contributed to make the former colonies distinct political

units but indeed considerably accentuated their individuality.

Furthermore, African societies have undergone extremely important changes through the process of modernisation. This process, at the basis of which the coloniser must be seen, played a determinant role in national integration. Modernisation gave rise to the progressive commercialisation of labour, agriculture and land. This then created and maintained a network of exchanges tending to include the whole territory, but related to the functioning of commerce rather than to the socio-cultural realities of the milieu. This network fostered the development of firm ties which tended to involve the whole territorial-community. In Africa, the process of modernisation was also accompanied by a strong urbanisation movement. In fact, it was colonialism that brought the modern town to Africa, at least to Black Africa. This form of organisation corresponded better to the administrative and economic requirements of colonisation. Little by little, Africans of different socio-cultural backgrounds moved to these towns and lived in contact with one another, far from the restraints of traditions and immersed into a totally different world. The town was the first affected and the most intensely marked, not only by the integrating effects of the coloniser's direct political actions, but also by those of

commercialisation, industrialisation and modern education. The process of modernisation resulted also in the complete transformation of the system of socialisation in African societies. In fact, colonisation introduced into Africa a system of education which, as in the Western world, included schools and precise curricula. The family and village community ceased to be the only media handing down habits, values and beliefs and the uniformity that a modern system of education implied, greatly favoured the rapprochement of social groups. Modern schools not only transmitted uniform and new cultural values and beliefs, but also tended to bequeath a common language and an assortment of similar information concerning the newly created territorial-community. Moreover, such a system gave rise to a social elite and to a group of political leaders who shared an academic background and political concepts much in line with the idea of the modern state and the development of a territorial-community.

In several African states, the diffusion of a common religion and language has contributed to national integration. Commercialisation, urbanisation and modern education very often gave rise to and fostered this diffusion. The religion and language thus privileged were often those of groups which played a major role in the economic sector, for example that of the coloniser or again that of an

indigenous group. It is true that in some cases the diffusion of a language and a religion may have created tensions rather than affinities, but it remains true that in several cases it has helped to foster contacts between groups and standardise customs and thus to create a cohesion and a solidarity superseding ethnic boundaries and regional socio-cultural distinctions. In fact, it seems true that in countries where language and religion are more homogeneous, there is a higher degree of national integration. Although it cannot be used to suggest that the diffusion of a common language and religion is the primary factor of national integration, such a correlation underlines the significant ties which exist between the two phenomena. Furthermore, assimilation, as sociological theory shows it, materialises through language and religion which carry values and perceptual patterns : two variables whose action is very important in national integration since it implies the formation of a society that can only be realised if certain values and perceptions are shared by the members.

Evidently, every one of the factors that have just been considered may have had a quite different influence on the national integration issue. Here are some examples. In several cases territorial delimitation was established in terms of exclusively colonial considerations,

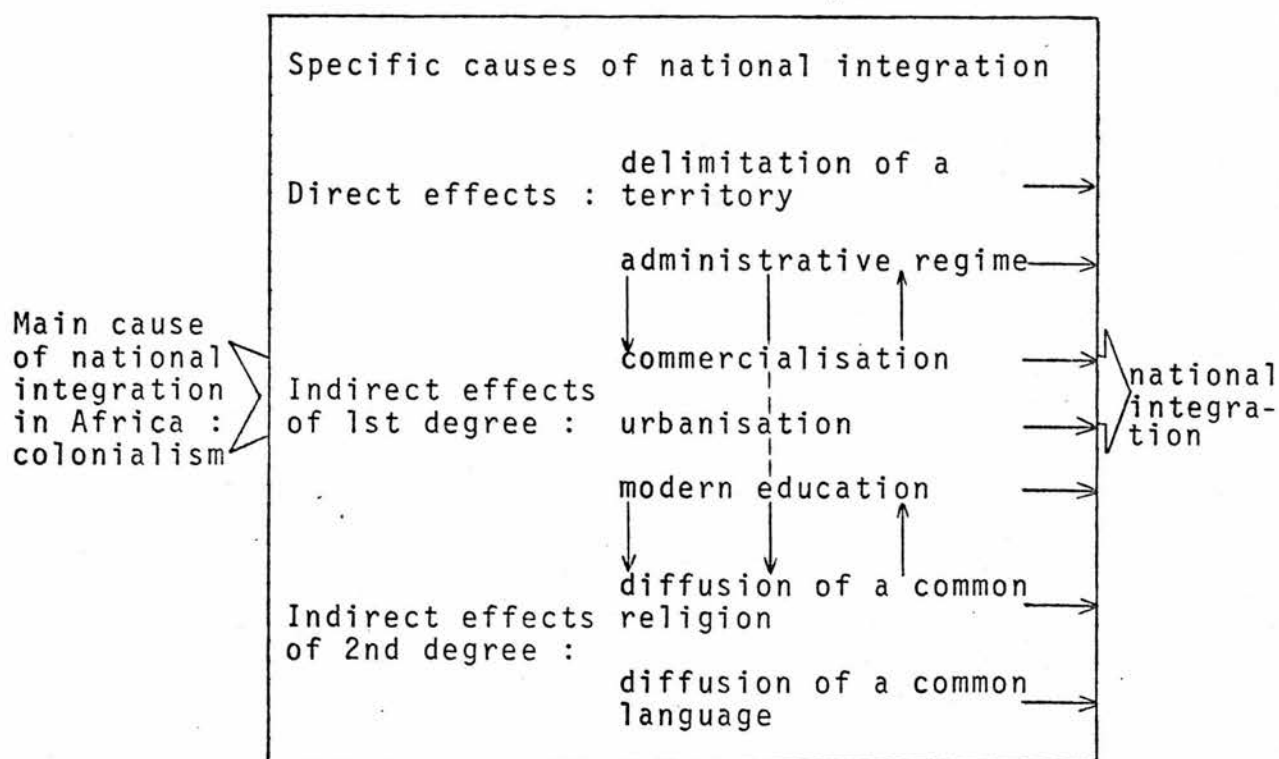
but in Egypt, for example, it took into account regional political realities. Equally, the impact of colonial rule was different from one colony to another and it is realistic to believe that, in general, direct rule has exercised a positive action on national integration in Guinea and Mali for instance, whereas indirect rule in Nigeria has reinforced ethnic cleavages and regionalism. The action of modernising processes were also uneven. If it is also generally true that urbanisation has had mostly positive effects, it is also true that the impact of this factor has been more important in territories where urbanisation evenly affected the main ethnic groups. Normally, we tend to see the process of commercialisation as a positive factor of integration, but, as Coleman (18) notes, if the cocoa economy has fostered Chanean unity, it has been no less a factor of division in Nigeria. The establishment of a modern system of education has also had mainly positive effects on national integration, but there are cases where it has had a negative influence. This was the case mainly in countries where modern education has helped only one ethnic group to the detriment of others, thus contributing to reinforce that group's political power and social domination. In North African countries, the already existing linguistic homogeneity has certainly played a

(18) Coleman, J.S., 1955, p. 48.

positive role in national integration, whereas the multitude of languages that are found South of the Sahara certainly has not. It was the same with religion. In every country of North Africa and Sahel, Islam was a determinant factor in national integration. Further South, on the other hand, religion has not played such a role and it seems that in some cases it has slowed the integrative process.

The complex interplay of all these factors has certainly acted differently from one country to the other. However, serious studies on the subject are so few that it is almost impossible to precisely establish these differences. It is possible, failling something better and as a working hypothesis, to distinguish three main categories : the North African states where national integration is reasonably well developed because religion, language, history and culture in general already brought their populations closer; the tropical African states where national integration is variously advanced but which have all known, to a different degree it is true, the integrative effects of colonisation; finally, the territories of Southern Africa, such as the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia where the degree of integration is very weak, if not absent, because of the type of colonisation practiced.

To understand these differences and the process of national integration itself, it is important to have in mind the interdependence which exists between all the factors already referred to. National integration of African states was envisaged according to a factorial combination and synchronism which may be summed up thus :



This diagram should be seen at one and the same time in a synchronic and diachronic perspective. From the synchronic point of view, it distinguishes between direct links and indirect links, the latter subdivided into first and second degree links. There occurs between these diverse factors a complex interplay of positive and negative interrelations with reference to national integration. Thus, colonisation through territorial delimitation and the administrative regime, has direct effects on national integration. It also has indirect effects of the first degree through processes such as commercialisation, urbanisation and modern education. However, these factors in themselves have a direct influence on national integration. Colonialism may at last have indirect effects of second degree on national integration by the influence it exercises in the diffusion of a common language or religion through its direct effects and its indirect effects of first degree. If now the action of all the factors is considered from a diachronic point of view, it is realised that in general they occur in the following chronological order : 1) colonial occupation of a given territory; 2) imposition of an administrative regime; 3) development of an economic structure; 4) commercialisation of land and labour; 5) establishment of a modern system of education; 6) diffusion of a common religion and language.

The aim of this study is to test empirically some of the propositions put forward hitherto and summed up in the following three main hypotheses : 1) colonialism has been up to now the major factor of national integration in Africa not only by its purely political action, but also by the changes and evolution its mere existence commanded; 2) national integration in African states is the result of an historical evolution dating from the period of effective colonisation; 3) the general factors of national integration in Africa acted differently and distinctively from one country to another.

5. The methodological approach adopted.

The methodology of the social sciences offers a great many modes of analysis. Nevertheless, they are not of the same value and their use sometimes has requirements difficult or impossible to satisfy in particular circumstances. The choice of a methodological strategy should be done in terms of the hypothesis to be tested. In the case of national integration in Africa, it is impossible to tackle the topic without the help of an empirical investigation. Theories on integration are little developed and empirical data sufficient to uphold a study of a general character are not available. For this reason, study on the process of national integration cannot be done without a good deal

of empirical work. But, empirical analysis can take several forms. A systematic empirical analysis of national integration in Africa would suppose the organisation of scientific surveys on each factor in every country on the continent. This would be ideal for such an analysis would permit comparisons to bring out the distinctive characteristics of the process in each state, to build typologies and to draw general principles applicable to all African states. A less comprehensive systematic analysis would also be possible, but it would clearly be more risky. It would equally be possible to carry out an empirical analysis on a sample of countries. This would be methodologically very valuable, but it would be difficult to generalise in as much as several cases vary from one another and as it would be difficult to choose representative states. Finally, one could analyse the process of national integration in Africa and test the hypotheses already put forward through the study of one specific case.

It is this last mode of analysis that has been chosen for this study. The choice of a mode of analysis also depends on the means available. In that case, it was unthinkable, for practical reasons, to face an empirical study involving either the whole continent or several countries, especially as an almost complete absence of general and case studies on the subject made such a task

almost impossible. On the other hand, the study of a individual case was much easier to realize and even offered advantages.

A monograph is a mode of analysis which is easy to pursue in practice and which permits a complete consideration of the process. It permits the study, one by one, of the different factors involved and of their reciprocal relationships. Briefly, a monograph allows the study of the process in its entirety and complexity. This method will also help to bring out the distinctiveness of the process of national integration in Africa. Lastly, a monograph is a very economical means to test a hypothesis and moreover it offers facilities to carry-out corrections and reajustments along the way. On the other hand, this mode of analysis has theoretical limitations.

The possibilities of generalisation from a case study are very limited and demand a great deal of prudence, because it is possible that the case studied is without any real affinity with other cases. Moreover, it is very difficult to consider every general principle involved in the many aspects approached in a monograph. In fact, if a monograph permits, as noted above, the study of the process in its entirety, it accordingly confronts the investigator with a major problem in terms of the multiplicity of elements

and relationships to be studied. For practical reasons and very often by lack of intellectual capacity, the worker must pass subjective judgements and put forward subjective principles. Consequently, there is a danger that general explanations resulting from a monograph be tied to common sense rather than to a scientific approach. As the theory of national integration is very little developed, a monograph study could easily lead to the development of very arguable models. The study of a particular case of national integration by reason of the nature and quantity of data available, could easily lead, for example, to emphasise one factor rather than another and thus create an analytical bias which would distort. Moreover, there is a danger of proceeding tangentially at the outset and pursuing the study in a direction which leads to a dead end. Finally, a monograph makes the process of abstraction difficult. The variety and multiplicity of empirical data often prevents the researcher from seeing the principles which explain their organisation and dynamics.

A monograph poses also very particular practical problems. To consider a broad question requires the collection of various and numerous data which are often highly scattered and uneven as to their value. This problem of comparability, consistency and availability of data becomes even more acute in the case of a topic such

as national integration, since the aspects to be dealt with are as varied as history, political life, economic organisation, culture of the populations involved and so on. So varied and vast a field of investigation requires therefore, to be mastered efficiently, an operational strategy that is very difficult and even impossible to define without proceeding by an exploratory phase of trial and error in which there is a serious danger of getting bogged down and lost.

6. The choice of a case : Senegal.

For consideration of the hypotheses we have chosen Senegal as the field. Many reasons justify this choice. First, Senegal is a country where one finds the factors involved in the general model already referred to : imposition by the coloniser of a territorial unit and an administrative regime; changes linked to the process of modernisation; finally, the diffusion of a common language and religion. In other respects, a rapid survey of the history of Senegal proved with reasonable certainty that the analysis of the process of national integration would show how these diverse factors acted and were influenced mutually. Moreover, senegal offers socio-cultural conditions that do not pose any major problems for a study of this kind. Without asserting that it is simpler than that of

other African countries, it seems that the Senegalese social reality lends itself to understanding.

Furthermore, Senegal is in many ways a representative African country. First, this country is located in Tropical Africa, and it has an essentially Black population made of several ethnic groups. Secondly, Senegal, as most African states, has known the direct and indirect effects of colonial rule. Thirdly, independence, which was realised according to the general pattern, has given rise to a typical nationalism and to a monopolisation of power by an autochthonous ruling class whose main interest has been to preserve the territorial integrity of the new state and to promote national coherence. In other respects, however, Senegal is less typical. The impact of colonial rule and modernisation was probably stronger in this colony than in several other colonies. The commercial culture of groundnuts, for example, has given rise to the participation of the population and the involvement of the political authorities in a manner not found in several other countries. Moreover, the diffusion of Islam has played a much more important role in Senegal than is widely typical in the continent, with the exception of the countries of North Africa and Sahel. As to the comparative diffusion of a common language, it is difficult to express an opinion owing to the lack

knowledge on this subject.

Moreover, Senegal proved to be an interesting case because it demonstrates how strong colonial rule may have been as a factor of change. In short, Senegal gave an ideal opportunity to analyse this factor and understand its major role in certain cases.

In the choice of a field of investigation, the possibilities of research must be considered. In this respect, many reasons argued in favour of Senegal. First, there is the qualitative and quantitative importance of colonial archives that are found in this country and which hold a mass of information not only on Senegal, but also on all former French West African colonies. Dakar was during half a century the capital of French West Africa and a mass of historical documents, very helpful to the study of national integration, was accumulated. Secondly, there are in Dakar two good libraries : La Bibliothèque de l'Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire et la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Dakar. Moreover, Senegal is a particularly well known country as compared with other African countries and it is therefore easier to obtain basic information. Senegal is also a relatively well provided country in terms of statistical information. Finally, my knowledge in French - my mother tongue - was

a great advantage in the access to, and management of, material.

7. Research techniques.

Once methodology is well defined, it is appropriate to discuss the techniques of research which were used to pursue this study. First, a seven phase strategy of research was developed : 1) a study of the process of integration; 2) a more specific study of the process of national integration (definition of the phenomenon and establishment of a model of the main variables to consider in the case of national integration of a new African state); 3) a general observation of the situation in Senegal to see if it was compatible with the model already sketched; 4) the formulation of hypotheses; 5) an exploration with a view to locate the available data; 6) a gathering of pertinent data; 7) an analysis of the data gathered.

To realise this study, whose empirical research phase was carried out in Senegal from September 1968 to October 1969, it was necessary to consider the possible sources of information and establish the conditions of their use. After a short inquiry, in view of the means available and the topic, it was realised that only the analysis of documents was possible. This source of information in any

event was sufficiently rich to assure the study all the rigour needed. Among the institutions visited, Les Archives Nationales du Sénégal must be mentioned specifically. This institution not only keeps the archives of colonial and independent Senegal, but also the most complete collection of written documents on Senegal (official documents, statistical data, special studies of all sorts ...). This library research was complemented by numerous interviews and extended travel throughout Senegal.

During this research there occurred a particular problem worthy of mention : that of the validity of statistical data. In Senegal, as in most countries of Tropical Africa, a true census did not exist until very recently. In fact, a census on a national scale has never been carried-out, before or after independence. Since the beginning of the century however, there have existed several demographic sources that could be termed administrative estimates. Most of these data were established for purposes of revenue and were thereby biased by the aim of reaching the reticent, taxable person. This may well explain the persistent under-estimation of these countings, their fragmentary character and their lack of continuity and rigour with regard to extra information. Dependable surveys and local censuses were carried out in the fifties but one must wait until the sixties to see the organisation

of a demographic inquiry covering the whole of Senegal and aimed at gathering systematically the basic information concerning the population. This inquiry (Enquête démographique 1960/1961), carried out between April 1960 and August 1961, was not a true census but a sample survey; and its results have the limitations of such a survey, that is a certain imprecision even at the national scale and an increasing lack of dependability as the level of analysis lowers. Nevertheless these recent and dependable results represent the most serious data available on the population of Senegal.

In this dissertation, the 1960/1961 sample survey will be used as the main guide work, but reference will also be made to less recent countings or estimates including some going back as much as a century. Rather than discuss in more détail or list these various sources, which are indicated in the bibliography, they will be introduced, criticised and applied as time and place require.

PART ONE

BACKGROUND

CHAPTER ONE

THE POPULATION OF SENEGAL

The aim of this chapter is to see the population of Senegal in its diversity. However, before doing so, it seems necessary to draw attention to some purely demographic aspects.

1.1 Key demographic features.

The idea here is not at all to treat each main aspect of the demography of Senegal but to refer briefly to some basic guide marks. The reason for this is twofold. First the present analysis, although it has a great deal to do with population, is neither a study in population geography nor in demography. Secondly all the necessary information relevant to the topic will be dealt with at length within the framework of particular chapters.

According to the 1960/1961 sample survey, the population of Senegal in the middle of 1960, amounted to 3,109,800, divided thus : 3,049,560 Africans and 60,240 non Africans (including mainly Europeans and Lebano-Syrians). This result, largely superior to those of the preceding

estimates, represented an increase of nearly 200% with regard to the 1921 data. Moreover these new data showed an increase of almost 800,000 with regard to the 1958 figures. Obviously this notable disparity cannot but be chiefly explained by the mere fact that previous estimates were steadily inferior to the reality (see table 1). This demographic inquiry also helped to amend another basic datum. The population increase between 1921 and 1958 indicated an average annual growth of 1.7%, but the 1960/1961 sample survey, supported by comprehensive local and regional inquiries, revealed that this rate was over 2% (2.1% according to Verrière , 1965) (1) . At such a rate the population, now well over 3,500,000, would double every 33 years and reach 5,000,000 in 1980 (see figure 1).

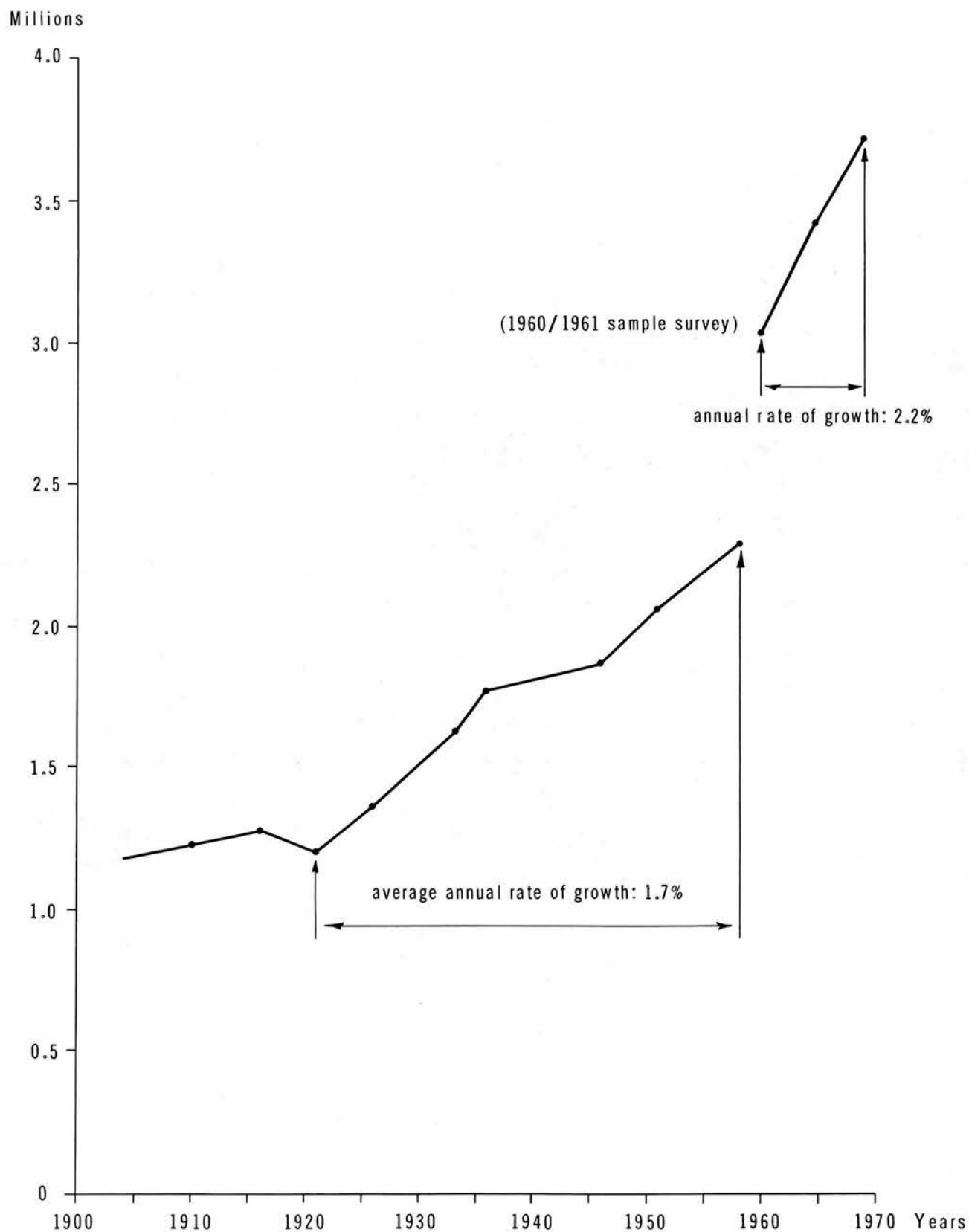
Senegal is thus a country whose population increases rapidly and amounts actually to nearly 4,000,000. The overall average density, hardly 20 per square kilometer, is low but this means little for it varies largely from one region to another (see table 2 and figure 2). The population distribution map emphasizes more clearly this unequal

(1) Verrière , L., 1965, p. 153

Table 1
AFRICAN POPULATION, 1904 - 1969

Year	Population in 000	Source
1904	1,169.0	Senegal, National Archives: file 22 G 20
1910	1,246.0	Senegal, National Archives: file 22 G 23
1916	1,253.9	Senegal, National Archives: file 22 G 31
1921	1,220.2	Gouvernement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1922
1926	1,350.6	Grandidier, G., 1934
1933	1,645.9	Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occi- dentale Française, 1936
1936	1,779.7	Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occi- dentale Française, 1937
1946	1,872.0	Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, 1957
1951	2,060.0	Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, 1957
1958	2,255.7	Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement, 1964
1960	3,049.5	Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement, 1964a
1965	3,424.0	Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et de l'Industrie, 1969
1969	3,738.0	Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et de l'Industrie, 1969

EVOLUTION OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION



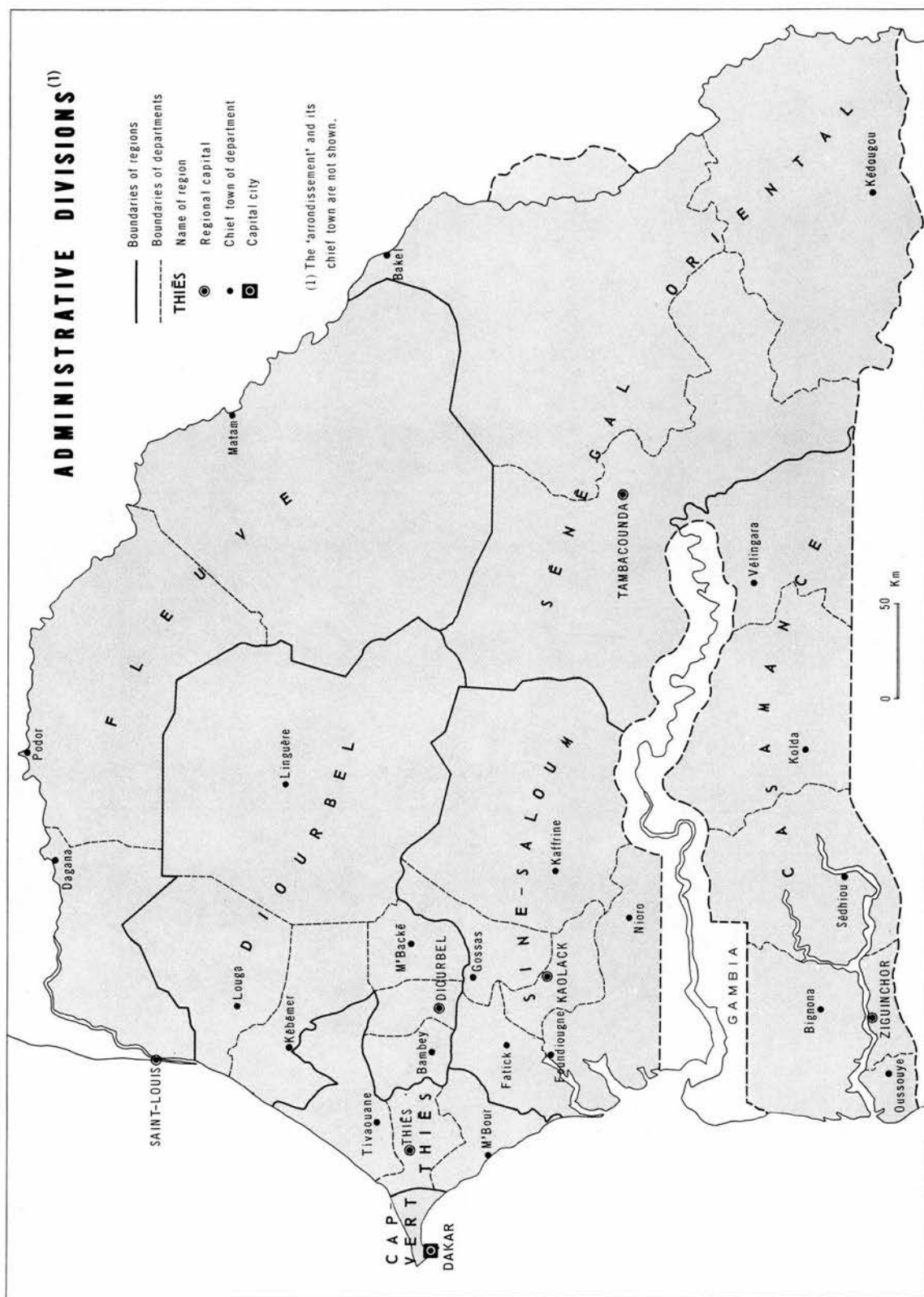
Source: see table 1.

Figure 1

Table 2
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

ADMINISTRATIVE REGION		AFRICANS	NON-AFRICANS	TOTAL	AREA (sq. km)	DENSITY/km ²
Cap-Vert	1960	398,060	45,000	443,560	500	806
	1969	661,000		661,000		1,202
Casamance	1960	528,920	940	529,860	28,350	19
	1969	612,000		612,000		22
Diourbel	1960	502,080	960	503,040	33,547	15
	1969	580,000		580,000		17
Fleuve	1960	342,620	2,760	345,400	47,127	8
	1969	399,000		399,000		8
Sénégal Oriental	1960	151,180		151,180	59,602	3
	1969	174,000		174,000		3
Sine-Saloum	1960	721,100	6,000	727,100	23,945	30
	1969	839,000		839,000		35
Thiès	1960	405,600	4,060	409,660	6,601	62
	1969	473,000		473,000		72
Senegal	1960	3,049,560	60,240	3,109,800	196,722	16
	1969	3,738,000	47,000	3,785,000		19

Sources : Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement, 1964a and
Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et de l'Industrie, 1969.



Source: Senegal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p. 8.

Figure 2

distribution. It shows plainly the contrast between the sparsely populated eastern half of the country and the densely occupied Western areas (see figure 3). In the western half the highly populated area North of the Gambia corresponds to the Groundnut basin and carries nearly half of the rural population and over 80% of the urban population if the Cap-Vert peninsula is included. In 1960 as much as 25% of the population lived in urban centers of 5,000 or more, and Dakar, the capital city, had nearly 400,000 inhabitants. In 1969 the population of Dakar was estimated at 550,000 and the population of greater Dakar (the administrative region of Cap-Vert) at 660,000, that is almost 20% of the population of the entire country.

1.2 Composition and distribution of population.

Although it would be a gross exaggeration to speak of a medley of people, it is still possible and realistic to present the population of present-day Senegal as made of several ethnic groups which after all belonged to distinct socio-political entities, used different languages and practised particular religions not so long ago. According to different sources the number of these groups vary between 10 and 15 but six, which clearly stand out, form the bulk of the population (over 95%). They are the

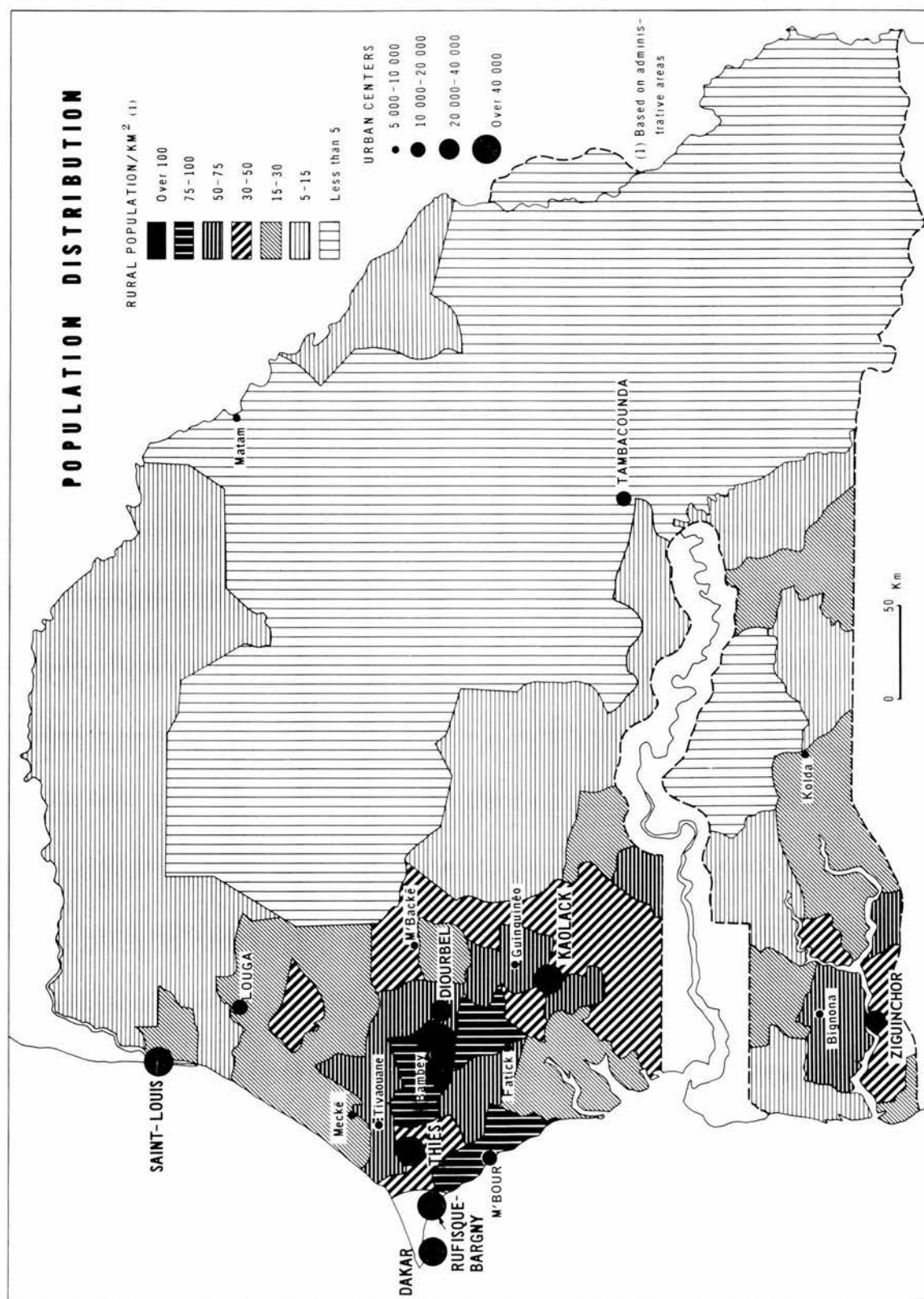


Figure 3

Sources: Sénégal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p.10. See table 6.



Wolof, the Sérér, the Peul (2) , the Toucouleur, the Diola and the Manding. The Moors, the Balant, the Mandjack and the Mancagne represent the much less numerous ones. No one of the groups constitutes an absolute majority but the Wolof, by far the most numerous, represent over 35% of the African population. Then come the Sérér, the Peul and the Toucouleur with a percentage varying between 20 and 10 and finally the Diola and the Manding representing 7% or so (see tables 3 and 4).

Among the main groups the Wolof, the Sérér and the Diola represent essentially Senegalese groups. With the exception of the Gambia where they amount to about 50,000, the Wolof form in neighbouring Mauritania and Mali only small communities which altogether represent a negligible proportion of their total number. All Sérér, with the exception of a few small communities established in North West Gambia, reside in Senegal. As to the Diola, who in spite of their affinity with the populations of Guinea Bissau constitute an entity of their own, only 30,000 live outside Senegal, namely in Guinea Bissau and the Gambia.

(2) The Peul are also known in the literature as Fulbe and Fulani

Table 3

THE ETHNIC GROUPS OF SENEGAL

Ethnic group \ Administrative region		CAP-VERT	CASA-MANCE	DIOUR-BEL	FLEUVE	SENEGAL ORIENTAL	SINE-SALOU	THIES	SENEGAL
WOLOF	000 % (1)	204 51.3	14 2.6	367 73.1	86 25.1	3 2.0	253 35.0	176 43.3	1,103 36.2
LEBOU	000 %	37 9.3					3 0.4	2 0.5	42 1.4
SERER	000 %	26 6.5	1 0.2	73 14.5	1 0.3		316 43.8	178 43.8	595 19.5
PEUL	000 %	25 6.3	22 4.2	39 7.8	13 (2) 3.8	56 37.1	61 8.4	14 3.4	230 7.5
TOUCOULEUR	000 %	50 12.6	56 10.6	4 0.8	229 67.0	22 14.6	47 6.5	14 3.4	230 13.8
SARAKOLE	000 %	6 1.5	17 3.2	1 0.2	2 (2) 0.6	32 21.2	5 0.7	2 0.5	65 2.1
MANDING	000 %	15 3.8	117 22.1	1 0.2	4 1.2	34 22.5	22 3.0	5 1.2	198 6.5
DIOLA, BAINOUK	000 %	8 2	203 38.4				4 0.6	1 0.2	216 7.1
OTHER CASAMANCE GROUPS	000 %	6 1.5	93 17.6				1 0.1	1 0.2	101 3.3
MOORS	000 %	8 2.0	1 0.2	16 3.2	6 1.7		8 1.1	9 2.2	48 1.6
OTHERS	000 %	12 3.0	5 0.9		1 0.3	5 3.3	3 0.4	3 0.7	29 1.0
TOTAL	000 %	397 100	529 100	501 100	342 100	152 100	723 100	405 100	3,049 100

Source : Senegal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement, 1964a.

(1) % of the African population

(2) According to M. Lombard these numbers would represent a large under-estimation (Verrière, L., 1965, p. 51).

Table 4

THE ETHNIC GROUPS OF SENEGAL

Ethnic group \ Administrative region		CAP- VERT	CASA- MANCE	DIOUR- BEL	FLEUVE	SENEGAL ORIENTAL	SINE- SALOUM	THIES	SENEGAL
WOLOF AND LEBOU	000 % (1)	241 59.7	6 1.1	320 63.7	70 20.4	11 7.3	327 45.3	178 43.8	1,153 37.7
SERER	000 %	26 6.4		97 19.3	1 0.3		248 34.3	178 43.8	550 18.0
PEUL	000 %	25 6.2	144 27.2	71 14.1	70 20.4	52 34.4	70 9.7	14 3.4	446 14.6
TOUCOULEUR AND SAKOLE	000 %	56 13.9	19 3.6	5 1.0	188 54.8	29 19.2	31 4.3	16 3.9	344 11.3
MANDING	000 %	15 3.7	95 18.0	1 0.2	4 1.2	53 35.1	33 4.6	5 1.2	206 6.7
DIOLA AND BAINOUK	000 %	8 2.0	212 40.0				4 0.6	1 0.2	225 7.4
MANDJACK, MACAGNE AND BALANT	000 %	6 1.5	53 10.0				1 0.1	1 0.2	61 2.0
MOORS	000 %	8 2.0		8 1.6	10 2.9		8 1.1	9 2.2	43 1.4
OTHERS	000 %	19 4.7				6 4.0		4 1.0	29 0.9
TOTAL	000 %	404 100	529 100	502 100	343 100	151 100	722 100	406 100	3,057 100

Source : Martin, V., 1964.

(1) % of African population.

Conversely the Manding, the Peul and the Toucouleur represent in Senegal only a fraction of much larger groups spread over two, three or more countries. The Manding belong to a large group of about 5,000,000 people distributed principally in Mali, Guinea, Senegal, the Gambia and Ivory Coast. The Peul also are a part of a numerous family stretching out from the Atlantic to the Chad lake area and whose number would amount to well over 5,000,000. Both these wide-spread groups do not form, it is true, continuous and closely knit communities but a scattered population whose main segments speak different dialects and may even have different modes of livelihood. Finally no less than 40% of the Toucouleur live in neighbouring countries, particularly in Mauritania and Mali where they are numerous, and also in Guinea and the Gambia.

Today, and this phenomenon is likely to increase, there exist in Senegal several areas where people from different ethnic groups mingle to form mixed population zones. Examples of this are the Senegal valley shared by Wolof and Peul in the lower section and by Toucouleur and Peul in the middle and upper sections ; the area surrounding the Sérér country where from place to place Sérér mingle with Wolof, with Peul, and with Wolof and Peul ; the margin between the groundnut basin and the central desert

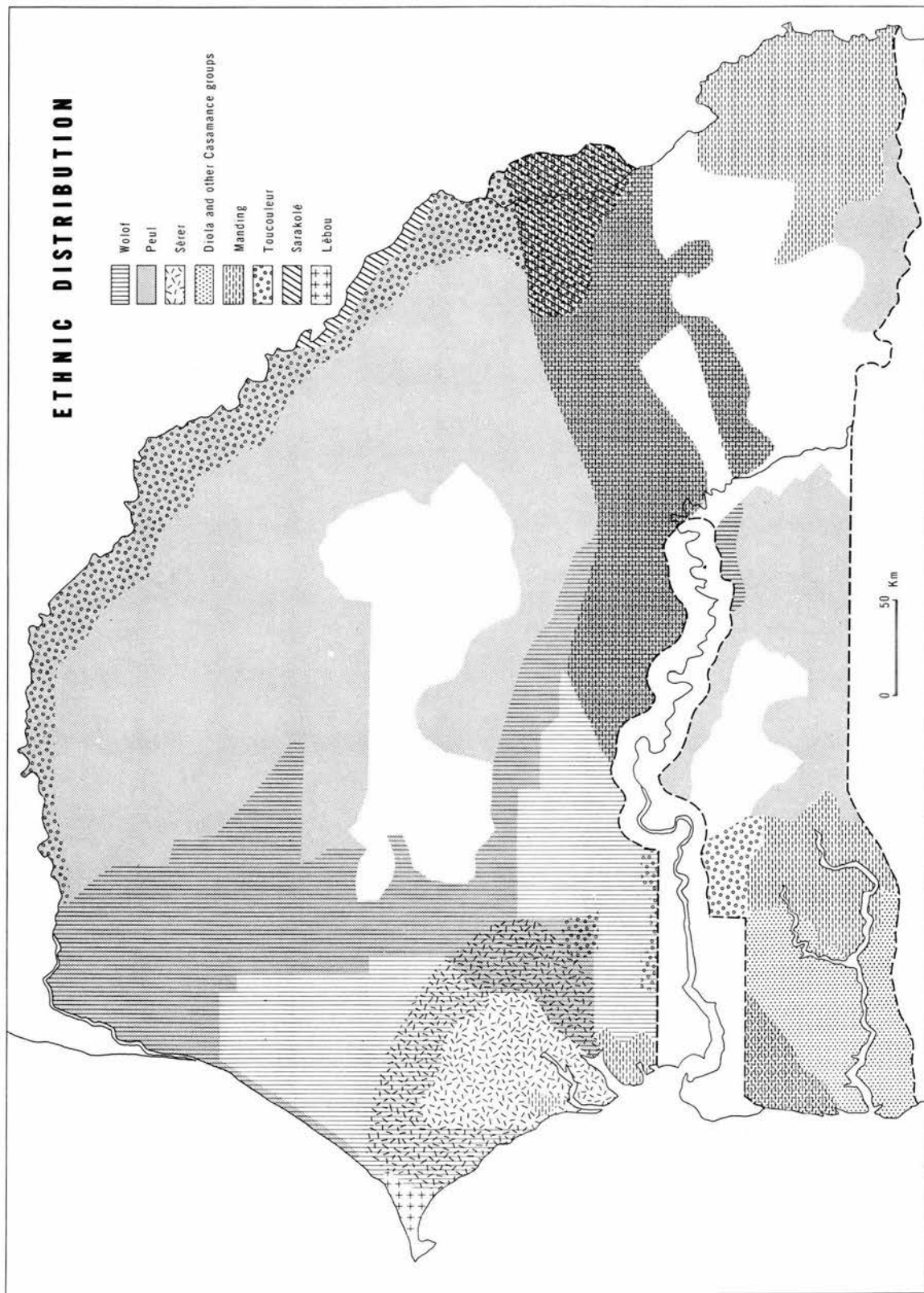
(Ferlo) where Peul and Wolof zones overlap ; and finally the Wolof, Manding and Peul populated area stretching out East of the Gambia (see figure 4).

However, in spite of the number and large extension of the mixed zones, the ethnic diversity still clearly shows a territorial basis. The Wolof, for instance, occupy almost exclusively the former kingdom of Cayor (3) and the South and South-East of present-day Sine-Saloum. The Sérér, the most compact group, concentrate in only one region, the former Sine. The Diola and Manding, mainly grouped in Lower and Middle Casamance respectively, form the bulk of the population in both areas. The Peul still the most scattered group represent over 80% of the population in Upper Casamance and occupy almost exclusively the Ferlo, this large and sparsely populated central area. Finally the bulk of the Toucouleur live in a long ribbon-like zone along the middle and upper Senegal River where they form the majority of the population (see figure 4).

1.3 The unity issue in the pre-colonial period.

If the ethnic group is still given recognition in official data and ethnic diversity still clearly shows a

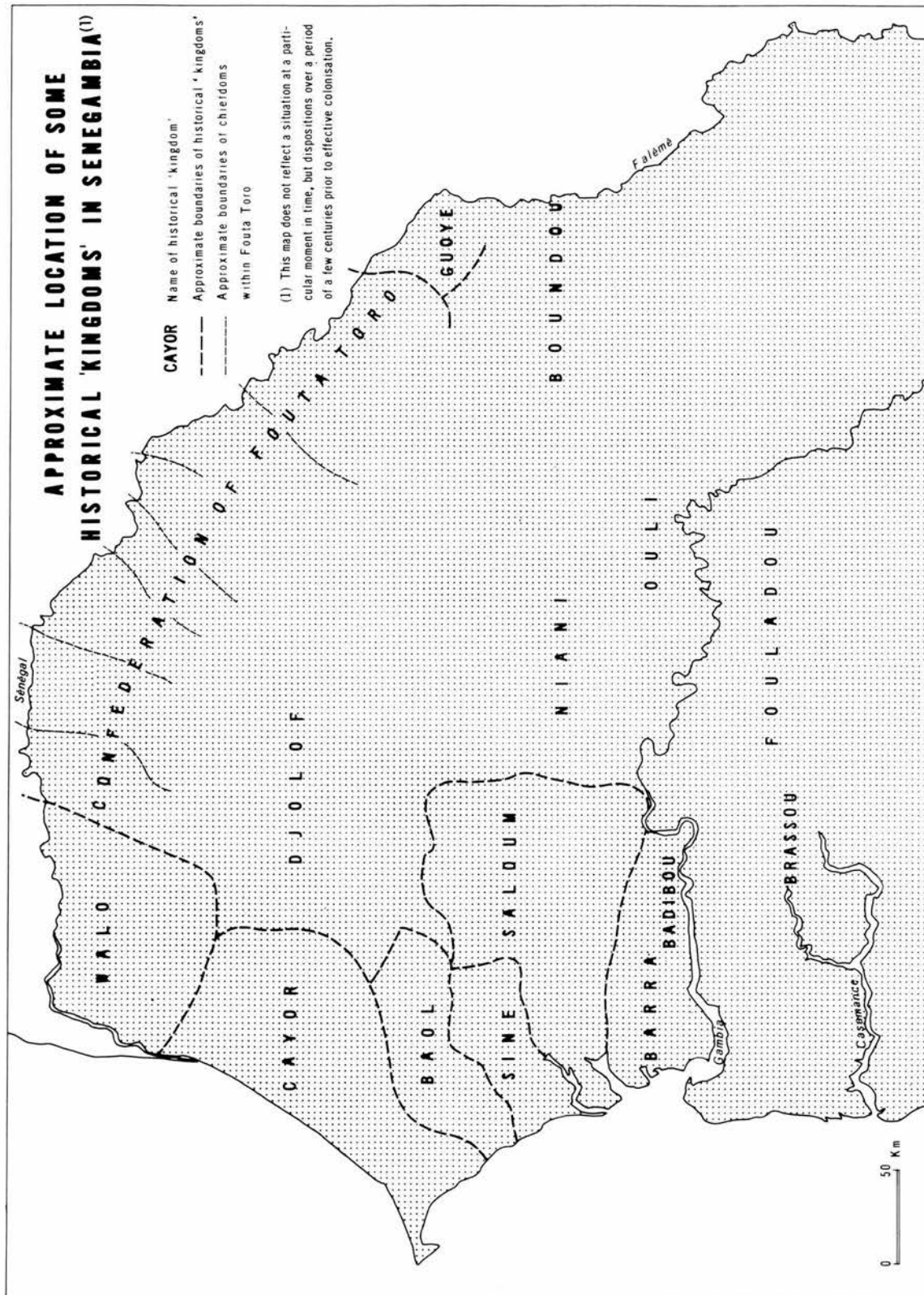
(3) Figure 5 shows the approximative location of some historical kingdoms.



Source: Sénégal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p. 11.

Figure 4

APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF SOME HISTORICAL 'KINGDOMS' IN SENEGAMBIA⁽¹⁾



territorial basis, the meaning of ethnicity has lost a good deal of its crucial socio-political dimension. Before discussing in later chapters how this evolution came about, it is useful to look briefly to the pre-colonial situation. This brief consideration should permit us to draw a base line from which to identify change. Perhaps the best solution would be to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of what was or was not Senegal before colonisation. This picture would necessarily provide valuable information on the character of the population who occupied the area and the nature of interrelationships between the groups. Such a task however would go very much beyond the limits of this study. For this reason it seems more realistic to deal with the issue by trying to evoke the context rather than the setting itself.

It is generally accepted that diversity was a fundamental characteristic of the population living within the actual limits of Senegambia before colonisation and today's data seem to confirm this view. However it may be questioned whether, despite an apparent diversity, the populations were not in some way or another closer to each other. Were there not among the groups elements of uniformity as well as diversity?

The pre-colonial situation is not very well known. It has changed so much since the Europeans' arrival that it is very difficult to appraise it. This may well explain the vague and sometimes contradictory views concerning the unity issue in Senegambia before colonisation. The portrayal of elements of uniformity varies from one author to another and sometimes the element which appears as a factor of continuity to one person is seen as one of discontinuity by another. Zucarelli (4), for instance, sees in the political institutions and in the mode of production two factors of unity in the pre-colonial period. There is a wide consensus about the latter for most groups were cereal growers and used comparable techniques. On the other hand, to others it is more realistic, and rightly so it seems, to see in the socio-political system an element of diversity rather than one of unity. As Pélissier (5) points out the populations of the area offered an almost complete sample of the rich range of socio-political institutions which is found in Black Africa, a sample of which are the Wolof, Sérér and Diola.

Wolof traditional society was above all characterised by a master political organisation intimately integrated

(4) Zucarelli, F., 1963, p. 27

(5) Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 27

with the social system and more disposed to territorial conquest and control than to the establishment of a well rooted peasant civilisation. This socio-political organisation more than any other factor may explain not only the expansionism of this group, its great mobility, its extreme capacity for adaptation and its surprising power to assimilate, but also its distinctiveness. The society was divided in three main classes : the freeborn, the low castes and the slaves. The freeborn, or Diambour, consisted of two main groups : first a secluded aristocracy divided into royal lineage and high dignitaries and nobles, secondly a peasantry (badolo) forming a poor and defenceless rural mass. The low castes were divided into several crafts each of which represented an hereditary and endogamous caste. Finally the slaves (diam), at the bottom of the social ladder, were divided into those born in the household and those captured in war or bought. It was among the latter that were recruited the Tiedo(warriors) whose chief, himself a slave, was one of the most powerful dignitaries. The Tiedo, often confused with the political aristocracy by the peasantry, lived largely through war spoils but also by ransoms held on peasant villages, whose control and protection they had in their power. Briefly, Wolof traditional society was highly centralised, hierarchical and rigid, and it kept the peasant and the slaves under the close dependence of an aristocracy and a group of influential warriors.

Diola traditional society was on the contrary remarkably loose, both vertically and horizontally, and was characterised by its political fragmentation and its lack of territorial organisation. Each village, sometimes each family, formed an autonomous group and unions between groups, most of the time short-lived and precarious, were chiefly made to face a common enemy. Hecquard, in 1850, trying to find a definition of the Diola organisation wrote : " Les habitants du Fogny ... forment une espèce de république fédérative ; chaque village a son chef indépendant, ils se réunissent tous et obéissent au plus ancien lorsqu'ils veulent attaquer ou se défendre. Le chef est nommé à l'élection, c'est toujours le plus brave et le plus redouté " (6). And at the turn of the century another observer noted : " Une famille obéit à son chef qui n'a d'autorité que sur elle ... Si l'accord règne, ces différents clans forment le village composé de quartiers séparés par famille, chacune retranchée chez elle et prête à attaquer son voisin comme à repousser une attaque. Aucune entente de village à village ; l'influence toute personnelle et temporaire d'un chef sur deux ou trois agglomérations disparaît avec lui " (7).

(6) Hecquart, H., 1850, Quoted in Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 677.

(7) Labretoigne du Mazel, quoted in Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 678.

In fact the family ward was the real cell of social life but even there each household kept a veritable independence and each member remained strangely individualistic in this thoroughly egalitarian society where caste and slavery were unknown.

The Sérér - a fundamentally egalitarian and acephalous society which to resist assimilation established defensive centralised institutions with the aid of a foreign warrior aristocracy (the Guellewar) - also owned their most distinctive characteristics to their socio-political institutions. Intimately integrated, the political system and social structure reflected and explained at the same time the personality of this group and its deep originality. In spite of Wolof influences, Sérér traditional society remained centered on the Diambour, that is the freeborn peasant. The peasantry was never defrauded of its initiatives and responsibilities and kept a decisive control on the exercise of political authority. Moreover this group, which remained really free and by far the most numerous, integrated the incoming foreign elements by imposing its language and religion and its conception of man-milieu relationships. Above the peasants who occupied the middle of the social pyramid, were the Tiedo and then the Guellewar. The Tiedo, aristocratic and aloof, formed an endogamous caste of professional warriors at the service

of the Guellewar. The Guellewar, responsible for the general organisation of an otherwise fragmented society, represented the nobility of blood from whom the Bour was chosen and the main rulers were recruited. However the most important of these rulers, the Great Diaraf, was chosen by, and from among, the village chiefs : the Diaraf. Although nominated by the Bour, the Great Diaraf could only be dismissed by an unanimous decision of his peers and was to the Bour and the ruling class a real peasantry delegate entrusted with the care and defence of their interests. Below the peasants, there were three endogamous but well integrated low-caste groups : the griots (8), the craftsmen (9) and the slaves (10).

The absence of physical barriers, the uniformity of the natural environment and the adherence to a somewhat Soudanian civilisation in the greater part of the area certainly fostered various historical contacts between

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- (8) The " griots ", given as Gambian English by Gamble, D. P. (1957, p. 45), includes all the musicians.
 - (9) According to Pélissier, P. (1966, p. 207) this class, much less numerous and diversified than in Wolof society, would be of Wolof origin and would have been introduced by the Guellewar.
 - (10) According to Pinet-Laprade (1865, p. 138-139), followed by more recent authors, the slavery was introduced by the Wolof.

most of the groups and even minglings of populations. But it is not appropriate to speak of unity on account of that. In addition to belonging to a distinct socio-political systems, each group used a particular language, nurtured and practised a cult of its own, identified with a particular area and experienced, as a total entity, a distinct historical development. Moreover no sign seems to indicate that Senegambia during this period was ever identified as a single entity. The main known historical events which took place in the area were never confined to the present territory and population. At some periods the political influence of certain kingdoms or empires extended over a large portion of it but the impact of such an influence differed during each time period, usually being temporary and weak. The influence did not really affect the basic pattern of interrelationships between the populations. The situation was not static, wars and migrations encouraged contacts and resulted sometimes in the disappearance of one or two groups and the formation of another one but the basic socio-political unit remained the ethnic group.

PART TWO

THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE

In this particular case, the expression " colonial rule " has a restricted meaning. It does not refer to colonisation as a whole but to its purely political aspect. Thus, the impact involved is restricted to that directly associated with the action the coloniser has taken to control the 'section of land and section of people' to which he gave the name of Senegal. This action found expression in two major ways : first, in the establishment of a definite territory and secondly, in the introduction of administrative policies calculated to rule the new political region. In both cases it had significant integrative effects.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM SAINT-LOUIS TO SENEGAL

The establishment of Senegal as a definite and distinct territorial unit was a very significant factor in the formation of a Senegalese community. It started and facilitated a twofold process of aggregation and segregation fundamental in the emergence of a territorial community, namely the aggregation of the heterogeneous populations included in the new unit and the segregation of the emerging community from neighbouring groups. In other words territorialisation did not only mean the introduction of a separate administrative system, susceptible to stimulating the formation of a distinctive character, but also the existence of a definite area within which the effects of modernisation were to increase greatly the intensity of social communications and at the same time singularize each collective experience.

Given the main concern of this study, there remains a need to discuss briefly the part colonisation may have played in the establishment of territorial Senegal.

2.1 French presence in Senegal

As the mother French possession in Africa, Senegal was always considered as an old colony and this has created

the impression that its formation as a politico-territorial unit was not so much the result of the scramble for Africa or yet did not really depend on the coloniser's discretion. Now that present-day Senegal has existed for 70 years it could be tempting to conclude from this impression that this colony was merely superimposed on a field of historico-social forces where a nation was in gestation. However, such an assumption would be much too conjectural. First, as suggested in the first chapter, the original heterogeneity of the population seems to impair this view. Secondly, the evolution of Senegal as a colony suggests clearly that its existence was tied to external decisions and actions and to issues which went far beyond it.

The foundation of Saint-Louis (1659) is rightly generally regarded as the beginning of French influence in West Africa. However, it is often forgotten that during the two centuries following the establishment of Saint-Louis, French presence was discreet and strictly confined to separate, and often impermanent, forts and posts. To sum up this period of marginal installation (1), it could be said that the French had very little influence, let alone control and authority over the land and people. In the first half of 19th century, the growth of Saint-Louis, the

(1) Twice interrupted by British intervals : from 1758 to 1779 and from 1809 to 1817.

establishment of new posts and forts and the explorations of unknown regions (2) foreshadowed a deeper action, but at the time they hardly changed the situation and Senegal remained a loose network of distant and precarious forts and posts. As late as 1850 - nearly 200 years after the foundation of Saint-Louis - only St-Louis, Gorée, Dagana, Bakel, Sènoudébou, Carabane and Sédhiou were effectively occupied and the imposition of colonial rule remained to be done (see figure 6). In the Senegal valley commerce was limited to gum-acacia and on the coast to groundnuts (recently implanted), palm oil, gold powder, wax, skins ... Transactions were subjected to taxes of all kind and depended on the caprice of the barterers. Communications were difficult and often unsafe, and all establishments except Saint-Louis and Gorée were in a precarious position. The Cap-Vert peninsula was within the range of the guns of Gorée but ships could not moor without paying rights. This insecurity and this lack of control were more and more resented and the French government decided to take action.

(2) Namely the explorations of Mollien (1818) from Saint-Louis to the Fouta-Djalon across the Djolof and the Boundou, Beaufort (1818) in the upper Senegal and Caillé (1827-1828) from Guinea to Morocco across the Soudan.

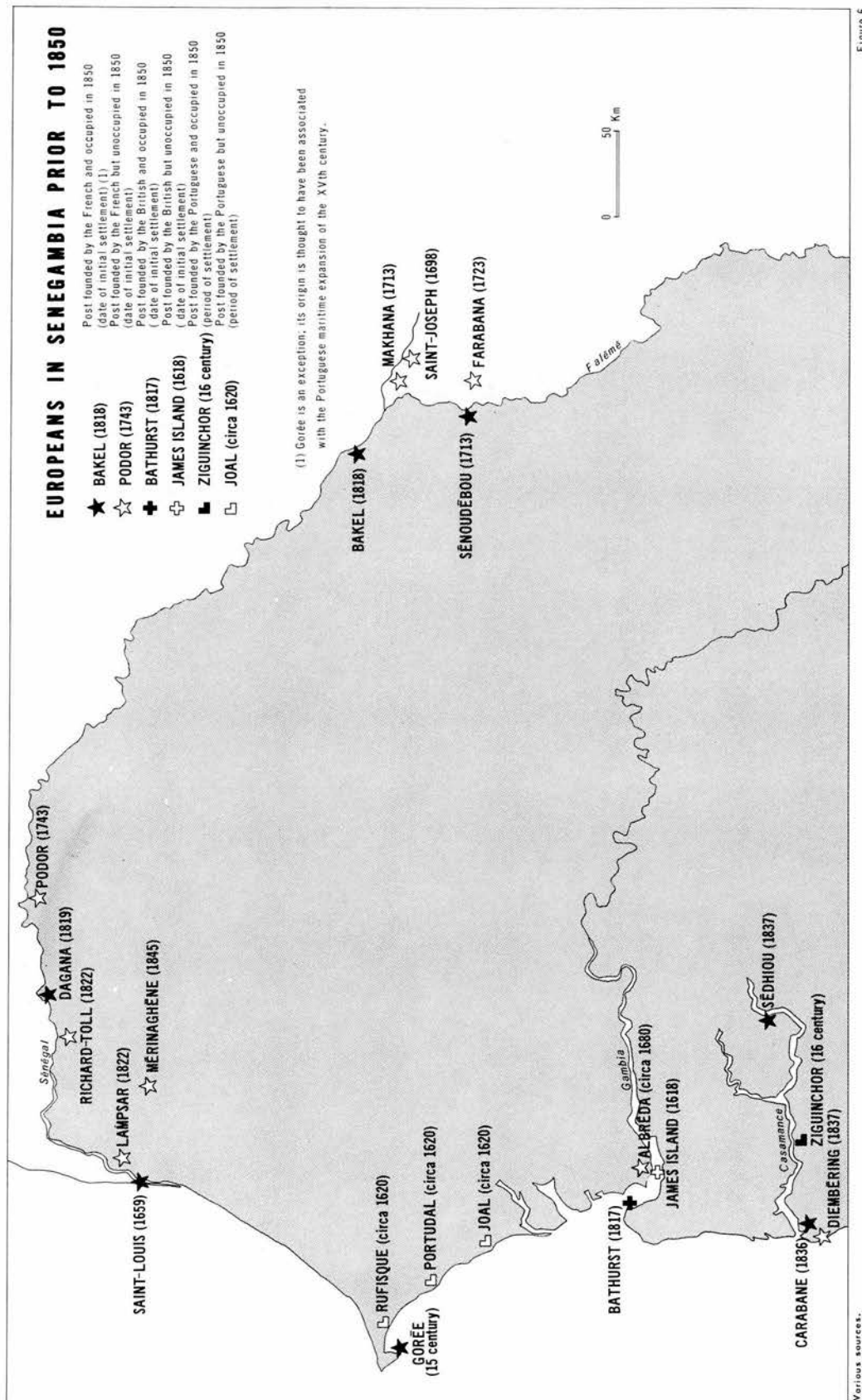


Figure 6

This led to effective occupation of a large portion of West Africa and to the creation of present-day territorial Senegal.

By the middle of the 19th century, colonisation in Tropical Africa became a national venture and France was pushed to gain control over the lands she was claiming as her possessions. Colonial rivalry and the growing interests involved fostered such a move. After the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) this trend was reinforced by the idea that the colonial claims were to be legitimate only if backed by an effective occupation.

The expansion of French rule in present-day Senegal lasted over 50 years. This phase of conquest marked by the alternation of periods of calm and agitation, was dictated by circumstances and the growing need for control rather than based on a systematic plan. In several cases - the building of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railway is an example - the execution of a definite project led to the annexation of certain regions. Pacification was difficult and met with noticeable resistance. This resistance, although discontinuous and generally linked with a certain region or group at a time, often proved to be tenacious and not easy to overcome. Complete occupation took more than half

a century and until the 1890s - even until the 1910s in Casamance - military expeditions were necessary (see figure 7).

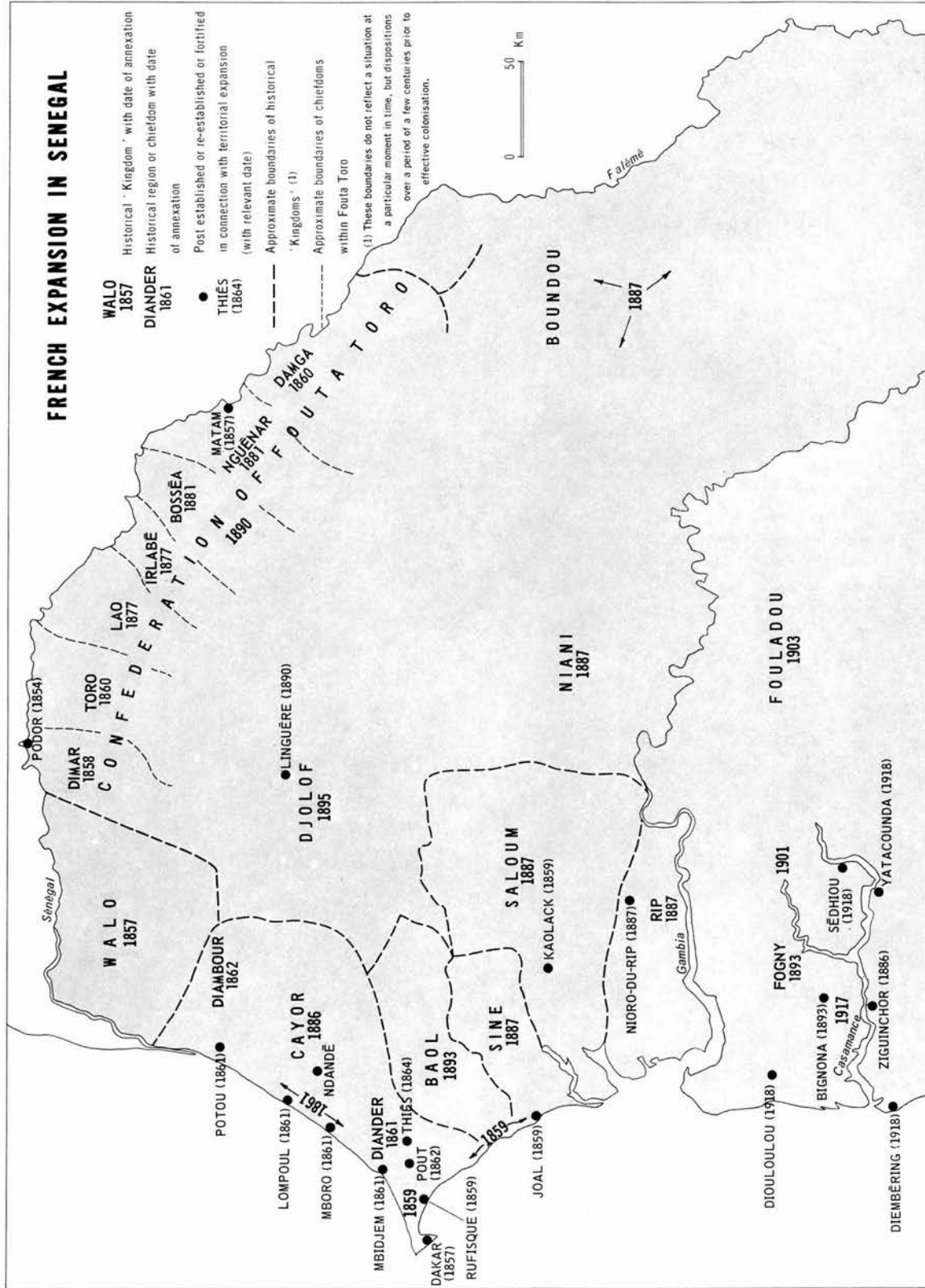
2.2 Senegal as a territorial colony.

However, French expansion in Senegambia was not isolated from but closely associated with the formation of a French empire in Tropical Africa. This explains why Senegal went through so many versions before finding its present shape and suggests clearly that the territorial fate of this colony was tied to issues which went far beyond it.

The government of Senegal was organised for the first time in 1840. The colony, then known as the " Etablissements du Sénégal ", included not only Saint-Louis, Gorée and the military and trading forts along the Senegal and the coast of Senegambia, but also the posts established along the Atlantic from Guinea to Gabon.

In 1854, just as the pacification of the Walo and Fouta was decided, the colony was split in two : 1) Senegal, including Saint-Louis and the posts established along the Senegal River, 2) " Gorée et dépendances ", covering the

FRENCH EXPANSION IN SENEGAL



Main sources: Brigoud, F., 1966; Klein, M., 1966; Montell, V., 1966; Pélissier, P., 1966; Sabatié, A., 1925; Saint-Martin, Y., 1967.

Figure 7

coastal establishments between Gorée and Gabon (3). This measure was to give the Governor of Senegal more liberty to concentrate his efforts on the occupation of the Senegal River area.

However in 1859, only a few years later, Gorée and the dependencies from Casamance and Guinea were again tied up to Senegal, while the far-off posts of Ivory Coast and Gabon were left under the command of the African Naval Station. Senegal was divided into three districts (" ar-rondissements ") : Saint-Louis, covering the Walo, Northern Cayor and the Senegal valley up to Podor ; Gorée, covering the Cap-Vert peninsula and adjacent regions, and the possessions of Casamance and Guinea ; Bakel, covering the upper Senegal area beyond Podor. As with all the prior versions, this one included not only effectively occupied territories but also dependencies considered susceptible to French rule one day.

In 1882, the administration was again reorganised. Saint-Louis became the seat of the civil government (4).

(3) " Gorée et dépendances " being placed under the command of the " Division navale des Côtes occidentales d'Afrique "

(4) Until then the government had been military.

The district of Gorée was suppressed and a lieutenant-governor was put in charge of the coastal establishments of Casamance and Guinea. Lastly the upper Senegal was placed under the authority of the " Commandant Supérieur du Fleuve ".

Until then, French action in the whole of West Africa depended on the administration of Senegal. However rapid expansion and the autonomous tendency of far-off regions were to initiate changes (5). As it became clearer and clearer that the territories of this large area would form in the near future one contiguous block in which a close cooperation would be essential between coastal and inland areas, it was felt that an organisation which could bring greater control over the region at large was necessary. Therefore in 1895, the Ministry of Colonies (newly created in 1894) decided upon the establishment of a loose federation in which a representative of the Republic, the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, was to direct on the spot a Government General of France's West African colonies (Afrique Occidentale Française or A.O.F.). In the beginning the Governor-General, who acted also as Governor of Senegal, resided at Saint-Louis and represented the

(5) In 1890 the " Commandant Supérieur du Fleuve " became " Commandant du Soudan Français " and in 1893 a governor was appointed. Moreover Guinea in 1891, Ivory Coast in 1893 and Dahomey in 1894 became distinct colonies.

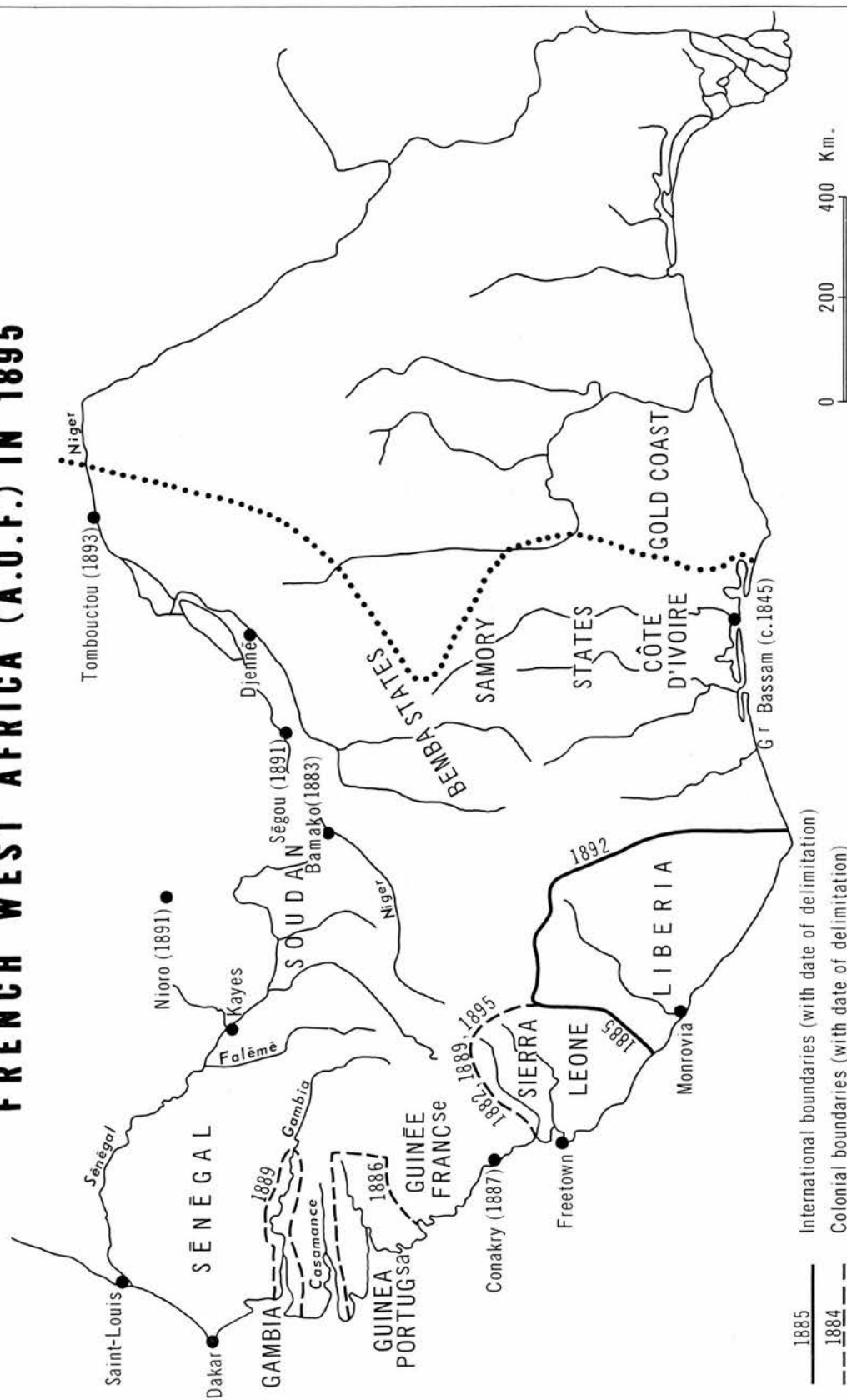
Republic in Soudan, Ivory Coast and Guinea (6) (see figure 8). Following this complete reorganisation, upper Senegal was reintegrated to Senegal which was divided in 8 regions (" cercles ") roughly covering its present area. But this approximate version of present-day Senegal did not last long.

In 1899 Soudan was dismembered and apportioned to coastal colonies, namely Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Dahomey. Thus, Senegal, which gained the western half of present-day Mali, more than doubled its size. The then A.O.F. included Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey and the military territories East of Djenné (see figure 9).

In 1902 Soudan was reconstituted and a large section of Senegal apportioned to it. The new colony named Sénégam-bie-Niger, was administered from Kayes by a delegate of both the Governor-General and the Governor of Senegal (7). This reorganisation reduced Senegal to the four communes, the Casamance and the Senegal valley.

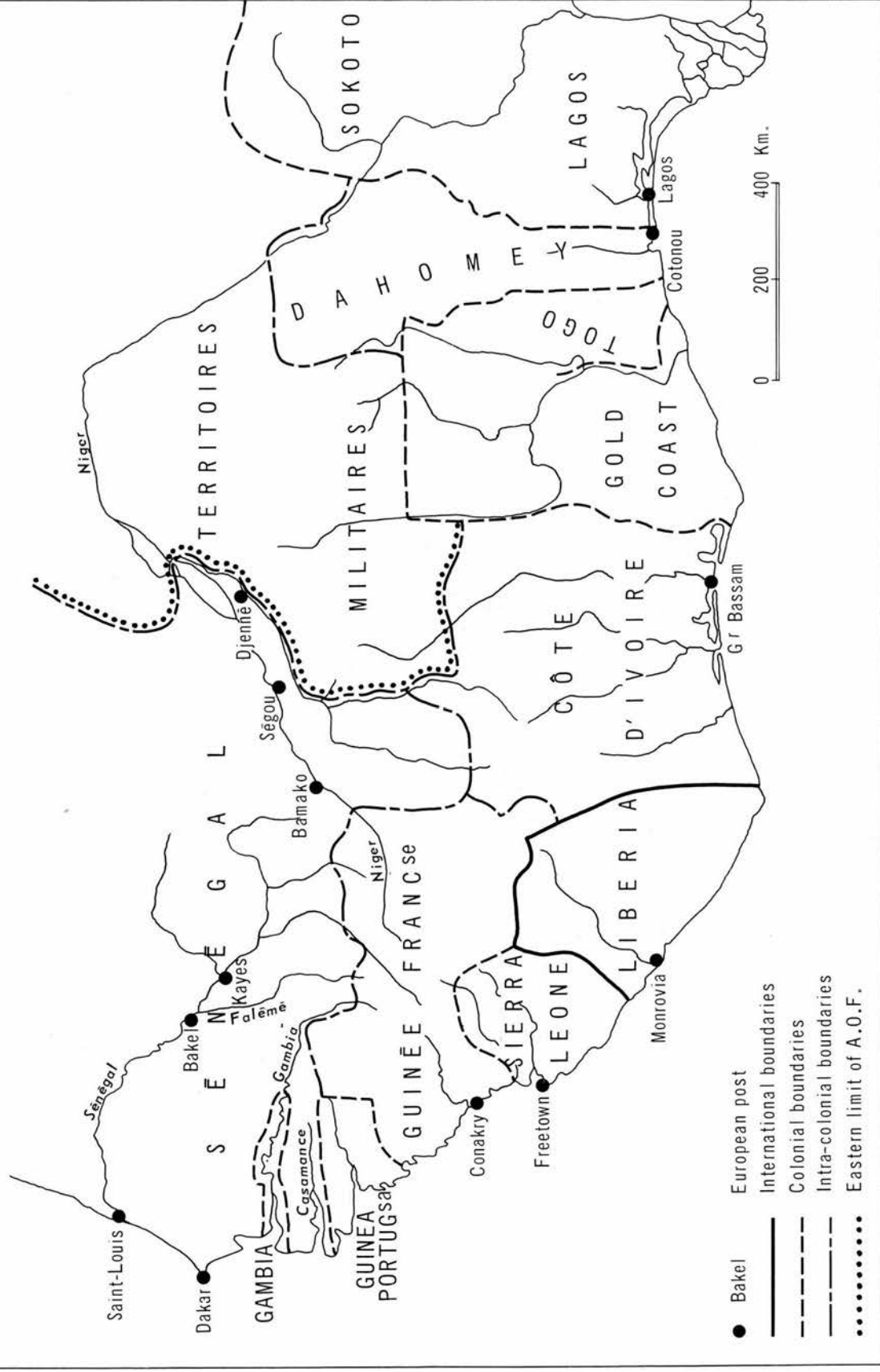
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- (6) In Dahomey, which was left out of the federation, the Governor-General had little power other than the high political and military direction.
 - (7) In 1902 the functions of Governor-General and Governor of Senegal were separated and the seat of the Government-General was transferred to Dakar.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA (A.O.F.) IN 1895



- 1885 ——— International boundaries (with date of delimitation)
- 1884 - - - Colonial boundaries (with date of delimitation)
- Eastern limit of A.O.F.
- Freetown
- European post
- Bamako (1883) Post established in connection with French territorial expansion (with date of establishment)

FRENCH WEST AFRICA (A.O.F.) IN 1899



Finally, in 1904, S n gambie-Niger was dismembered, Soudan reconstituted and the territories West of both Senegal and Fal m  rivers reintegrated into Senegal. Senegal then gained its modern limits : the Senegal and Fal m  to the North and East and to the South a more conventional line along Portuguese Guinea (agreed in the 1886) and Guinea, then a French A.O.F. colony. As to the Gambia, it became an exclusive British possession in the 1850s and it remained so throughout the colonial era (8).

It was thus only at the outset of this century that Senegal became a definite unit, a permanent section of land and people, which in the following decades became clearly identified from surrounding units. The action of the coloniser was the determinant in this process. It seems evident that the size and configuration of Senegal depended on factors which had little if anything to do with the socio-political realities of the area. Moreover, the original heterogeneity of the population confirms this view. It is thus reasonable to believe that even the territorial form within which the impact of colonial rule and the crucial effects of modernisation were most strongly felt was chiefly a colonial creation.

(8) In 1889 an agreement was reached between Paris and London and it eventually led to the present-day pattern of boundaries between the two colonies.

CHAPTER THREE

FRENCH COLONIAL POLICIES IN SENEGAL

The establishment of Senegal as a colony did not only mean the creation on paper of a given territorial unit but also the introduction of policies calculated to rule this newly defined political entity. The focus in this chapter is on these policies, presenting them briefly and discussing their possible impact on the character of the population.

There has been a tendency to oversimplify the characteristics of systems of colonial administration in Africa. In West Africa, for instance, French rule is often associated with the either vague or ill defined terms of " Assimilation " and " Association ". Assimilation is frequently associated with Senegal while association is linked with the rest of former French Black Africa. Moreover it is sometimes suggested that assimilation and association were opposed, the latter being presented as the French version of British indirect rule (1). In fact Senegal has known at the same time both forms of administration ; and both policies far from being opposed were

(1) See, for instance, Deschamp, H., 1963.

basically inspired by the same attitude, that is one which rejected the African institutions and aimed at replacing them by " a neat, logical system in which the line of authority were simple, clear and direct and in which power was effectively centralized " (2).

3.1 Assimilation.

As far as assimilation is concerned, Senegal was an exception. Of all France's Black African colonies, it was in fact the only one where this policy was applied in any significant way. Yet such a policy was only pursued in the four Senegalese communes (" Les Quatre Communes ") of Saint-Louis, Gorée, Dakar and Rufisque.

It is rather difficult to sum up in few words what assimilation meant for its meaning has varied constantly from time to time and from one partisan to another. Lewis (3) has drawn attention to this confusion by pointing out several definitions in use : assimilation as civilisation, as social equality, as the dominant policy of France, as the policy abandoned in favour of association, as a policy

(2) Klein, M., 1968, p. 230.

(3) Lewis, M.D., 1961-1962, p. 131. The author in this well documented article examines the place of assimilation in the development of French colonial theory.

of centralisation, as representation in the metropolitan government, as a highly centralised form of direct rule, etc ... (4). An imbroglio which prompted a delegate at the " Congrès Colonial National " (1889-1890) to complain that " among the partisans of assimilation there are not two who agree on the meaning of that expression " (5). The view is echoed a decade later by a participant to the " Congrès International de Sociologie Coloniale " (1900) who observed that " there are so many meanings given to ' assimilation ' that it has become one of the most dangerous words of our colonial vocabulary " (6). There were two main reasons for that. First assimilation, never officially defined, was rather an attitude towards colonisation than a determined policy and as such lent itself to various interpretations. Secondly, for a long time the authority of the colonial administrator was almost exclusive and the practical measures taken in the name of a vague policy were rather based on personal attitude than on guidance from metropolitan France. Whatever may be, in Senegal where the

(4) See Crowder, M., 1964, p. 202.

(5) Congrès Colonial National, 1890, Vol. 1, p. 24.
Quoted in Lewis, M. D., 1961-1962, p. 132.

(6) Congrès International de Sociologie Coloniale, 1901, Vol. 1, p. 183. Quoted in Lewis, M. D., 1961-1962, p. 132.

only instance of its full scale application is found, assimilation came to mean : " political assimilation to the metropolitan country through the representation of Senegal in the ' Chambre des Députés ' ; administrative assimilation by creating a Conseil-Général for Senegal modelled on the ' Conseil du Département ' of France and by the establishment of municipal councils on the French model ; the personal assimilation of Senegalese in the communes by according them the status of French citizens, though they were allowed to retain their ' statut personnel ' ; the extension of French educational facilities as part of the French 'mission civilisatrice ' " (7).

The genesis of assimilation in Senegal goes back to the eighteen century if not before. Prior to the effective occupation of Senegal as such, the Senegalese communes - French extra-territorial enclaves governed on European principles - saw the growth of a small but influential autochthonous community associated with French presence and activities. The origin of this population known as the ' habitants ' was twofold : indigenous Africans and mulattoes. The former came from salaried labour employed by French officials and traders and also from Africans

(7) Crowder, M., 1967, p. 3.

going into commerce on their own account at a time when service in the colony was hardly attractive to metropolitan Frenchmen (8). As for the mulattoes they came as the result of mixed marriage or concubinage between Europeans and Africans (9) (10).

Rapidly the ' habitants ' whose presence and activities ensured the viability of small and isolated European settlements, became a constituent part of an European-style community which progressively conferred upon them complete civil equality. Thus as early as in the middle of the 18th century, the ' habitants ' were represented as free persons by a spokesman leader and they participated in the

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- (8) General conditions were harsh, tropical diseases were frequent and a good deal of the commerce to be done depended on difficult and uncertain journeys in the interior. Senegal was regarded as another Siberia.
 - (9) Real marriages and less official unions between Frenchmen and indigenous women were frequent and on the whole encouraged by the authorities who saw them as a means to stabilize a mostly male European population and considered the emergence of a mulatto community as the best way to ensure an enduring French influence. The mulatto who often was recognised by his European father and given an European education invariably considered himself as French rather than African.
 - (10) For details about the origin of the ' habitants ' see Hargreaves, J. D., 1965 and Idowu, H. O., 1968.

trial of their peers. In 1794, in a spontaneous revolutionary move, the ephemeral Convention granted them, as it did to all persons domiciled in all French colonies, French citizenship and all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In Senegal, however, this first official recognition was followed by more precise concessions, according the ' habitants ' the status of full citizen (1830, 1833, 1848) and thereafter the consequent rights to fully participate in the election of a deputy to represent Senegal in Paris and in the election of councillors to the General council and municipal councils (11) (12) (13).

Thus as a result of an evolution, made possible by an assimilationist attitude and favoured by circumstances, there emerged in Senegal a multiracial community whose non-European elements came to form an essential and participant part. Here, to understand the scope of such a development it must be realized that it took place in an 18th and 19th century

(11) The political representation of Senegal through the election of a deputy was granted by the Second Republic in 1848, then suspended by the Second Empire and re-established in 1879 by the Third Republic.

(12) The General Council was established in 1879. Until 1920 it was composed of 20 members, all of whom were elected by the citizens. In 1920 it was transformed into a Colonial Council whose composition included chiefs as well as representatives of the citizens.

(13) Municipal councils on the French model were established in St-Louis and Gorée-Dakar in 1872, in Rufisque in 1880 and in a separated Dakar in 1887.

Senegal consisting only of Saint-Louis and Gorée and then of Rufisque and Dakar ; that is a Senegal restricted to the enclaves where the French were effectively established (14).

Until around the end of the 19 century and as long as the French colonial establishment in Tropical Africa meant the ' Quatre Communes ', the particular status of the ' Habitants ' remained secured. However, at the turn of the century assimilation came under heavy scrutiny. This coincided with the formation of the French empire in West and Equatorial Africa and a certain disillusionment both in France and in Senegal.

In France's colonial circles the critics of assimilation advocated a new approach to colonisation summed up in the catchword " Association " and thought to be more in line with the real economic and political aims of the colonial enterprise. In the field the situation was evolving rapidly : the colonial establishments, once a collection of posts, were now growing into an empire covering a huge area many times the size of France and involving millions of

(14) In Dakar and Rufisque which emerged as European centers after the citizenships regulations were edicted, the civil and political rights were never officially promulgated but they were extended in practice.

people (15) and Senegal itself had expanded well beyond the communes to embrace a large territory dominated by a Black African population estimated then at over a million (16). Dissatisfaction with assimilation was growing in the four communes. The administration saw it as an increasing source of abuses and embarrassment and as a bridle to its efficiency. Finally, Europeans arriving in greater numbers in a more attractive Senegal began to question the logic of a policy which gave a ' habitant ' the civil and political rights of a French citizen and allowed him at the same time to retain his personal status (17). In fact, conditions had changed greatly and the former solidarity no longer existed. There were now ambitious Frenchmen in sufficient number to occupy administrative and economic posts hitherto held by mulattoes and educated Africans. The activism of an increasing number of educated Africans was seen as a common danger by the administration, the French community and the mulattoes. Finally Senegal had become a one crop economy depending on a multitude of primary, rural producers to whom the urban merchants were more than reticent to extend democratic rights.

(15) In the beginning of the century the population of French West Africa was estimated at about 10,000,000.

(16) In 1904 for instance the population of Senegal was estimated to 1,169,000. Senegal, National Archives : file 22G20.

(17) That is the right to vote upon the same basis as Europeans despite the fact that their civil condition continued to be regulated by native and not by French Law (see Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 1, p. 946-957).

As a result it was ensured that such a policy was not extended outside the four communes and even there it came under heavy fire. However the Senegalese citizens successfully resisted this reaction and kept rights that were to be granted to the mass of the subjects only after the Second World War (18). On the other hand, and most importantly, the confrontation did not only lead to a victory for the four communes but also to the emergence of the Black African element as the major group in Senegalese politics (19).

In spite of the extended civil and political rights that were given to them, the African citizens were never really assimilated to the French culturally. The majority, not to say all, highly valued their status and accepted the obligations as well as the rights of citizenship, but most of them kept their personal status and religion and remained African. In this respect it is interesting to note that at a time when the controversy over the rights of

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- (18) For details concerning the French reaction against assimilation and the resistance of the four communes citizens to it, see Buell, R. L., 1928 ; Crowder, M., 1967 ; Idowu, H. O., 1968 ; Lewis, M. D., 1961.
- (19) Due to an intimate affiliation with the French based on their origin and most often on their education and way of life, the mulattoes dominated the internal politics of the four communes during the 19th century.

citizens was hardly over, there emerged a strong African reaction against assimilation (20). Nevertheless this does not mean that assimilation did not have a serious and enduring impact.

Assimilation neither eradicated the African past nor created genuine African Frenchmen, but it did a great deal to bring about the idea of Senegal, neutralize in the four communes the meaning of ethnic differences and create a national-minded community.

First, the French in Senegal, most probably moved by their assimilationist tendency, have " always tended, in the words of Crowder, to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese ... " (21). This colony, the mother colony in West Africa, was always known by the name of Senegal. The French always saw, and considered, the ' Habitants ' as Senegalese, rather than as Lébou, Sérér, Wolof or Diola, Peul and Manding ; and, as their control extended beyond the communes, the new territories were seen and meant to be parts of Senegal rather than a collection of differentiated regions such as Wolofland, Sérérland etc ... Although it would be difficult to qualify in measurable terms the

(20) See Crowder, M., 1967 , chapters 4 and 5.

(21) Crowder, M., 1967, p. 98.

effects of this recognition from the outside, it seems likely that it led the population to accept more easily the idea of being Senegalese and the elite to grow familiar with the concept of national as distinct from ethnic identity.

Most importantly, assimilation engendered in the four communes a social environment whose 'raison d'être' was so different from that of the traditional village that it could not but dilute the ethnic sentiment and give birth to new values among the African population. The introduction of common democratic institutions and uniform educational facilities incited the Africans to cross ethnic barriers. All the 'habitants' were involved in the election of a deputy and concillors to the General and the municipal councils and the citizens elected were meant to represent not the French, the mulattoes, the Wolof or the Lébou but the whole of the community or a section of it regardless of social or ethnic origin. Likewise the system of education made no concession to cultural diversity and grouped in the same schools and classes children of different ethnic groups who were taught in French according to programs drawn up for French pupils. Moreover the whole system promoted a type of society which ignored ethnic affiliation, traditional institutions and former social structures but saw Western style political influence, education and economic success as the new sources of power and prestige, and made political

parties, trade unions and other secular groups the key instruments to articulate and aggregate interests.

Thirdly, in encouraging French education and allowing the Africans the same rights as the French in France as well as in Senegal, assimilation imbued the indigenous elite of this colony with European ideas and led it soon to cross the barriers between tribalism and nationalism in a context where the traditional elites were disregarded and tribalism was seen as a symbol of a primitive past inconsistent with modernisation.

Finally assimilation took place in a urban context, the distinctive effects of which on the character of the population were important. Urbanisation will be considered in a later chapter, suffice it to say here that, as a main source of acculturation, it reinforced the impact of assimilation proper.

In sum, assimilation did not only dilute ethnic differences but created solidarities, resemblances and a sense of national identity in a fairly numerous community which set itself as an example to the rest of a population deprived of its traditional rulers and institutions. It also contributed to the emergence of an elite, very cohesive,

nationally-minded, and in a position to have an important influence in shaping the values and attitudes held by the society at large (see table 5).

Surprisingly enough this evolution was fostered by the imposition in the rest of the country of a policy which at the very beginning was meant to be the opposite of direct rule.

3.2 Association.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, while assimilation as a policy was pursued in the four communes the remaining part of the colony (22) was subjected to a different form of administration meant in theory to be the antithesis of assimilation and expressed in the word association. However, as will be shown, the policy put into practice under this name became in many respects the very opposite of that put forward by its contrivers.

At the turn of the century Chailley-Bert and Harmand (23), the most articulate artisans of association, stressed the impracticability and moreover the evil of

(22) That is the whole territory, but a fraction of it, and more than 90% of the population.

(23) The new ideas were mainly elaborated in Chailley-Bert's Dix années de politique coloniale and in Harmand's Domination et colonisation.

Table 5

NATIVE CITIZENS IN SENEGAL AND FRENCH WEST AFRICA.

YEARS	1921			1931			1945		
COLONIES	Native citi- zens	Total pop. (000)	% of total pop.	Native citi- zens	Total pop. (000)	% of total pop.	Native citi- zens	Total pop. (000)	% of total pop.
Senegal	22,771	1,260	1.8	66,692	1,638	4.1	93,328	1,872	5.0
Dahomey	121	862	0	198	1,112	0	585	1,456	0
Guinea	491	1,872	0	350	2,237	0		2,120	0
Ivory Coast	308	1,532	0	543	1,866	0	1,702	4,050	0
Mauritania	116	256	0	144	324	0	452	496	0.1
Niger	9	1,084	0	18	1,543	0	65	2,167	0
Soudan	1,164	2,475	0	402	2,856	0	1,575	3,794	0
Upper Volta	17	3,081	0	65	3,000	0			0
TOTAL	24,997	12,422	0.2	68,412	14,576	0.5	97,707	15,955	0.6

Source : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 80, 81.

Comment : This table shows the relative importance of the " assimilated " community in Senegal and the exceptional situation of this colony in this respect. Of course most of the Senegalese citizens did not owe their status to individual naturalization but to their origin as natives of the " Quatre Communes " or as descendants of such natives.

assimilation and presented association as a repudiation of this policy. They saw in association a native policy, or a form of tribal administration, adapted to the realities of an occupation whose chief aims were domination and economic exploitation for the profit of the colonial power rather than emancipation and education ; that is a compromise between the conqueror and the conquered aiming at preserving and facilitating domination by establishing " a certain equivalence or compensation of reciprocal services " (24). In practical terms such a policy, apart from brushing aside the illusions of assimilation, proposed to recognise " the differences of races, of genius, of aspirations and of needs between the native inhabitants of a possession and their European masters " (25), respect scrupulously the manners, customs and religion of the native and offer different approaches and solutions to different local situations in order to leave the indigenous' habits and traditions untouched, allow him to evolve along his own line and within his own form of social organisation and thus reduce to a minimum European intervention and the need for force (26).

(24) Harmand, J., 1910, p. 12. Quoted in Lewis, M. D., 1961-1962, p. 148.

(25) Chailley-Bert, J., 1902, p. 45. Quoted in Lewis M. D., 1961-1962, p. 147.

(26) Harmand, J., 1910, p. 160-164 and Lewis, M. D., 1961-1962, p. 147.

Thus association was in theory a policy which suggested bluntly the substitution of indirect administration for a regime of direct rule.

However to many colonialists and colonial administrators already dissatisfied with certain aspects of assimilation, Chailley-Bert's and Harmand's propositions did not seem adequate for they firmly believed that the existing African institutions were too varied and at any rate too primitive and clearly not adapted to the functions they would have to fulfil within the colonial system. As a result and although the name association remained, this policy was never put into practice in its original form in Senegal. On the contrary association became a form of direct administration which recognised the impracticability of applying a full scale policy of assimilation but retained a number of assimilationist characteristics. Thus access to French citizenship was not abandoned at all but kept as a desirable goal and as a way to reach a status all the more valued as it was denied to so many (27). Education facilities although sparser than in the four communes continued to be

(27) Conditions concerning individual naturalization were subjected to changes from time to time. However the main conditions remained more or less the ability to read and to write French, proof of devotion to French interests or occupation with merit for at least 10 years of a French public or private position, possession of means of subsistence and evidence of good character. For further details see Labouret, H., 1935 and Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 1, p. 946-957.

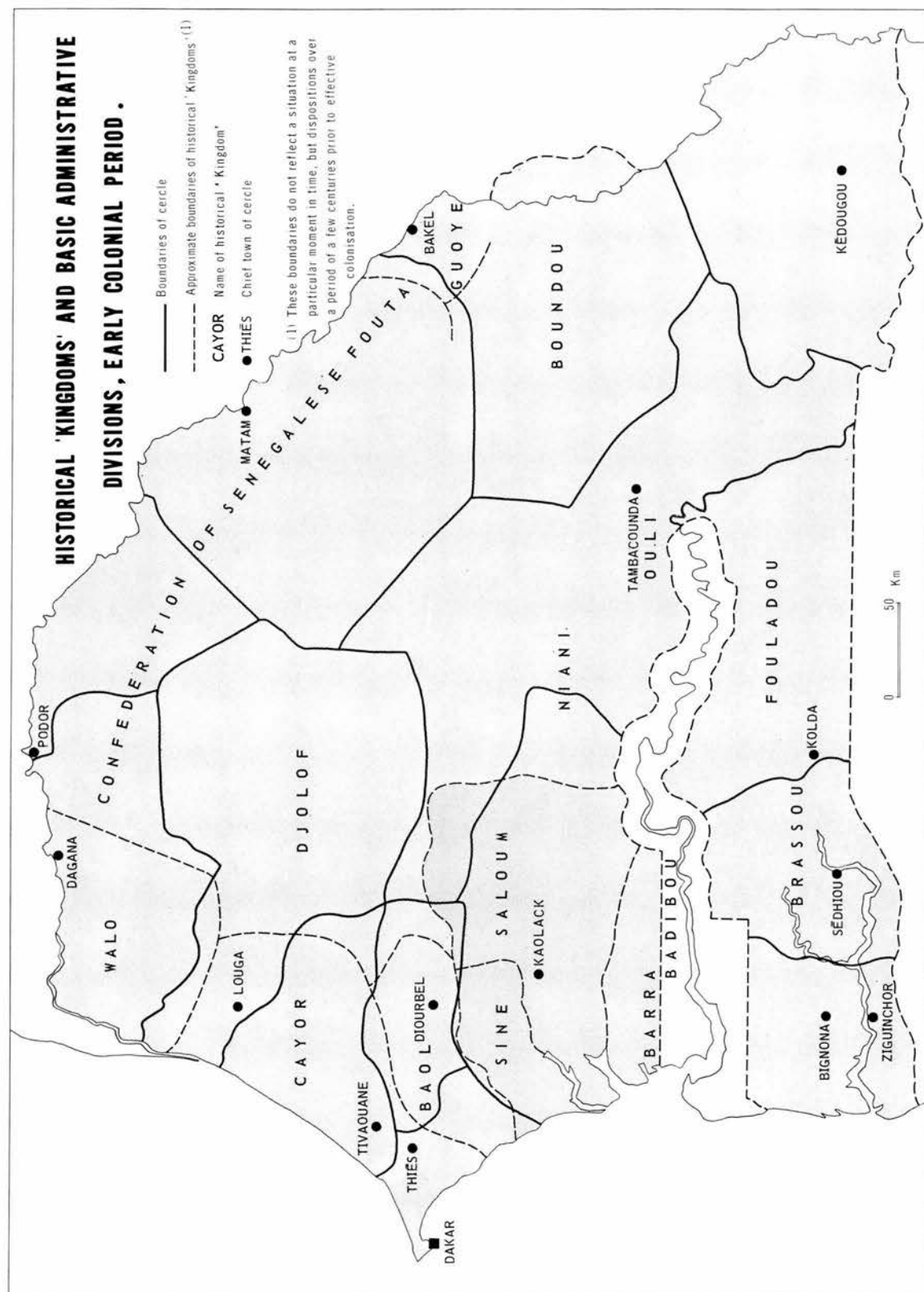
modelled on the French system and made no concession to tribal distinctions or vernacular languages. Association put an end to the protectorate regime, Senegal was divided into administrative regions which took no account of former cultural and political distributions and a uniform and assertive administration was imposed on all these regions regardless of the special character of the populations. All these moves were in opposition to a genuine policy of association and not surprisingly had effects on the population quite contrary to the ones which would have been expected from such a policy. On the whole the policy put into practice fostered changes instead of preserving the status quo.

The access to French citizenship and modern education served to gallicize the dynamic " sujets " and to enlarge and vivify an elite whose influence was not negligible, but its direct effects on the bulk of the population were somewhat limited for only a section of the population could take advantage of it. On the contrary the administrative organisation laid down was meant for everybody and indeed involved everybody. For this reason it seems appropriate to summarize certain of its characteristics.

In 1904, a decree annulled, and transferred to the State, the land rights up to then recognised, at least

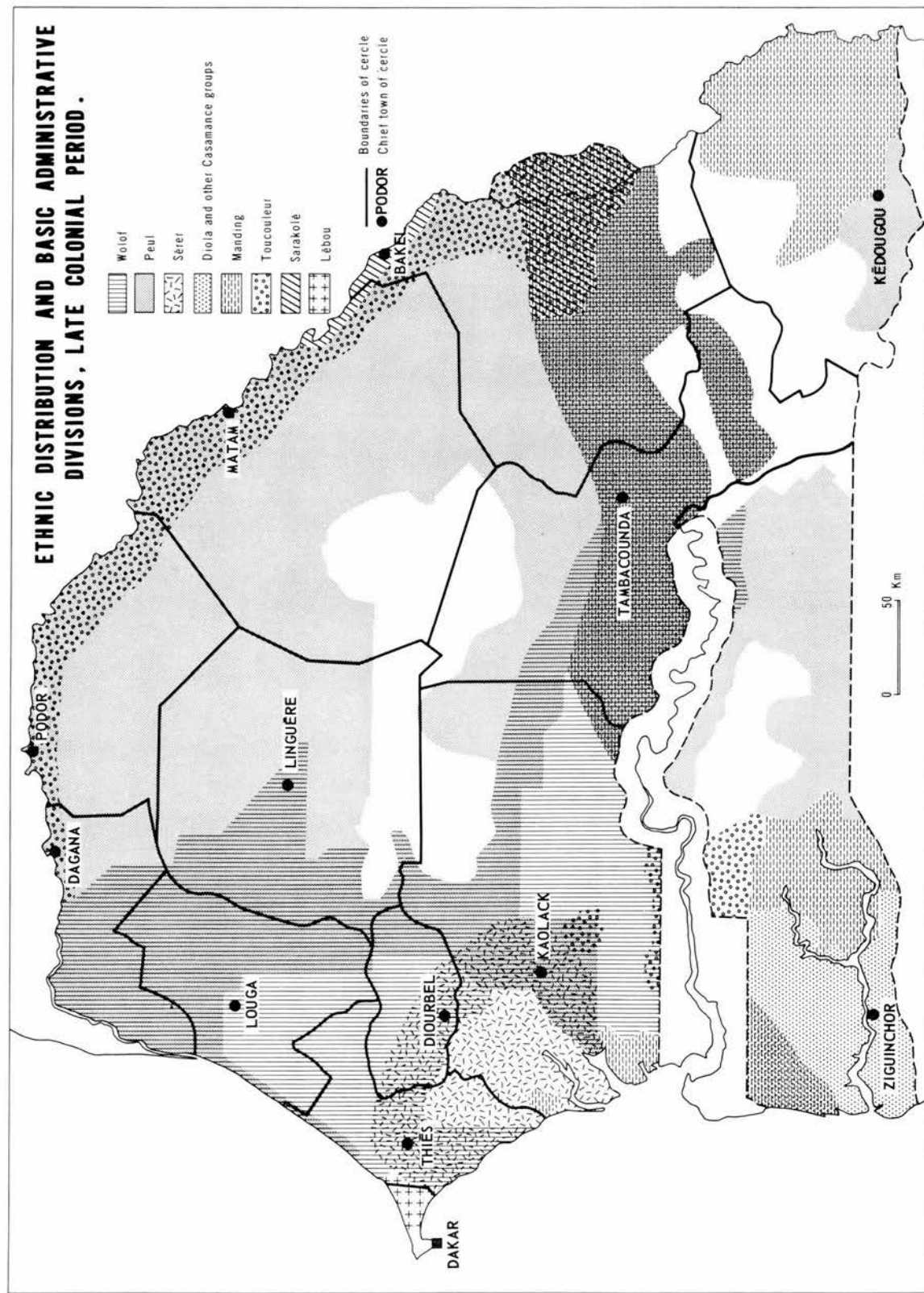
officially, to pertain to the traditional rulers. This step was one element of a policy which tended to : " supprimer les grands commandements indigènes qui sont presque toujours une barrière dressée entre nous et la masse de nos administrés " (28), in other words to complete the liquidation of the " grands commandements " which the conquest had already seriously abated. This move, hardly one towards indirect rule, was followed in the same year by the setting up of a territorial administrative structure regardless of traditional diversity. Drawn up in the name of convenience, the new divisions, which included in hierarchic order the " cercle ", the " subdivision ", the " canton " and the " village ", cut frequently across pre-colonial boundaries and took no account of the ethnic distribution. Although some minor changes occurred later, the principle of such a formula was never put into question and the divisions remained much the same throughout the whole colonial era (see fig. 10 and 11 and table 6). These measures taken as early as 1904 show by themselves the little importance given to traditional distributions and indeed the desire to neutralize and finally break the meaning of former territorial structures. In this respect however the nature of the system of administration designed

(28) Governor General Ponty, 1910, p. 215.



Main sources: Forest, 1925; Klein, M., 1968; Monteil, V., 1966; Pellissier, P., 1966; Saint-Martin, Y., 1967.

Figure 10



Sources: Senegal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p.9 and 11.

Figure 11

Table 6

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION AND BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS, 1948

<div> <div>Ethnic groups</div> <div>Cercles</div> </div>	Peul	Toucouleur	Wolof	Lébou	Sérér	Bambara and Sarakolé	Diola	Mandingue	Others
Délég. de Dakar	6,000	10,000	73,000	51,000	8,000	13,500	5,000	8,000	34,000
Dagana	9,000	4,500	70,000			1,500	500		11,500
Matam	19,000	69,000	1,500			19,500			1,000
Podor	31,000	45,500	4,500			1,000			4,000
Linguère	20,500		16,500						1,000
Louga	18,000	500	110,500						2,000
Thiès	5,500	10,000	150,000		95,000	9,000			1,300
Diourbel	18,500	5,000	96,500		51,000	1,500			1,500
Kaolack	46,000	30,000	173,000	1,500	119,000	22,500	500		24,000
Tambacounda	17,000	19,000	5,000			5,000		19,500	4,500
Kédougou	12,000					500		14,500	11,000
Ziguinchor	87,500	1,000	7,000			6,000	130,500	50,000	28,500

Source : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 57.

to operate in the newly-created framework tells more than anything else.

The form of administration introduced rested on the basic administrative unit of the " cercle " which was headed by an administrator delegated by the central government : the " commandant de cercle ". The " commandant de cercle ", and directly under him the " chef de subdivision ", were in principle French. On the other hand, to avoid too high a cost and to make for a lack of European staff, the system allowed for the use of indigenous chiefs at the inferior levels of the canton and the village. However this should not suggest that it meant in practice indirect rule or a form of administration aiming at preserving and ruling through existing institutions. As a matter of fact the " commandant " was the real and the only authority in the cercle, to the exclusion of a key traditional personage : the indigenous chief. Governor General Van Vollenhoven for one, made that very clear in a revealing circular where, on the one hand, he condemns abuses in sanctions against the chiefs and stresses the advantages of using traditional chiefs as agents of the administration but, on the other hand, maintains strongly the principle of a unique source of authority and leaves no doubt on the part reserved to the new chiefs : " The commandant de Cercle alone gives

orders ; only he is responsible. The native chief is only an auxiliary instrument ... they have no power of their own of any kind, for there are not two authorities in the ' cercle ' : French authority and the native authority ; there is only one ... The native chief never speaks, never acts in his own name but always in the name of the ' Commandant de cercle ' and by formal and tacit delegation from the latter " (29). A view echoed by Governor Deschamps who recently described the administrators in such terms :

" L'administrateur chez nous était un roi paternel (dans le meilleur des cas et le plus fréquent), mais un roi à peu près absolu. Le dernier des rois absolus et qui ne songeait guère à abdiquer " (30).

Thus the impossibility of doing away with indigenous chiefs led to the maintenance of the chieftaincy institution. But the new chiefs, seen and really used as mere agents of the colonial administration, rapidly found themselves in the hopeless and awkward position of subalterns deprived of

(29) Circulaire au sujet des chefs indigènes. 15th August 1917. Quoted in Crowder, M., 1968, p. 187-188.

(30) Deschamps, H., 1963, p. 303-304. Strangely enough the author in the same paper suggests that association was the Gallic version of the British indirect rule.

authority and status, revocable by the administration ad nutum, subject to sanctions applicable to other subjects (31) and finally identified with the most unpopular aspects of the system. These were the indigenous justice, the collection of taxes, the recruitment of forced labour and the duty to inform the authority of any anti-French movement within their respective area.

These new chiefs were no more chosen by customary procedures which traditionally gave them sanction for their authority, but directly nominated by the administration. They were also deprived of the traditional council from which their predecessors used to seek advice and consent. Moreover although some, knowledgeable in French and known to be loyal, came from traditional ruling lineages, many were chosen among former clerks, soldiers, civil servants... who had no traditional rights to rule but were literate in French, familiar with French administrative procedures and thus better prepared in the eyes of the administrator to play a role so different from the one chiefs used to play, or, in other words, better prepared to fit a position of a civil servant. As Buell (32) pointed out in his comprehensive survey, this tendency to make of the chief a regular civil

(31) The chiefs were subject to the " indigénat " regime and it was only in 1924 that the ones superior in rank to the village chief were exempted from it (Buell, R.L., 1928, Vol. 1, p. 1017).

(32) Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 1, p. 990-991.

servant went very far in Senegal. The chiefs, classified in several various grades or classes, were transferred from one post to another as any other functionary :

" Chief X of the 14th class is designated by the Lieutenant-Governor to administer the Canton of B during the absence of the provincial chief, sick in the hospital at Dakar.

The Elder N is temporarily named chief of the 18th class and placed at the head of the Canton of P in the temporary absence of the Canton chief X.

The 'principal interpreter third class' is temporarily made a canton chief of the 7th class, and is placed at the head of the Canton of G in the place of its former chief who returns to the government as a clerk " (33) (34).

Moreover as the basic chiefdom unit was tailored exactly on the uniform administrative canton recently

(33) Journal Officiel du Sénégal, 1921, p. 694. Quoted in Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 1, p. 991.

(34) In the 1930's in order to maintain a meaning to an institution which after all was proving useful, the administrators were instructed to appoint as far as possible chiefs entitled by tradition to occupy such a position and to set up, in accordance with traditional customs, advisory councils to assist the chiefs. But these prescriptions remained dead letters for the councils never got off the ground and the mighty administrator continued to appoint chiefs regardless of their traditional status (see Crowder, M., 1968, p. 190).

introduced, the French-created chief often found himself ruling over a greatly reduced chiefdom which in many cases did not correspond to a pre-colonial unit and sometimes grouped together several former small chiefdoms. Here again Buell, referring to the " Journal Officiel ", gives a telling example of the consideration given to traditional units in drawing administrative divisions and in appointing chiefs :

" In this arrêté (35), the canton of Elinkine was suppressed ; two others were united ; the province of Dougouttes was divided into two cantons, and a large number of similar changes made. At the same time, Chief X of the 18th class who had ruled one of these cantons was dismissed as well as two other chiefs of the 19th and 20th classes, who had presided over cantons which were now united. A village chief was promoted to chief of the tenth class and placed at the head of a new canton. Altogether thirteen chiefs were summarily ' dismissed from employment ' as a result of this rearrangement " (36).

An example which pointedly confirms the views of Maret, an " Inspecteur des colonies ", who described in such terms the canton chief :

(35) The author refers to an arrêté of the Governor of Senegal modifying the administrative divisions in Casamance and published in the " Journal Officiel du Sénégal ", 1926, p. 208.

(36) Buell, R. L., Vol. 1, p. 991.

" Il n'est pas le continuateur de l'ancien roitelet indigène ... Même lorsqu'il y a identité de personne, il n'y a plus rien de commun entre l'état de chose ancien et le nouveau. Le chef de canton, fut-il le descendant du roi avec lequel nous avons traité, ne détient aucun pouvoir propre. Nommé par nous, après un choix en principe discrétionnaire, il est et il est seulement notre auxiliaire ...

Pour cette nomination ... Il n'y a pas et il ne saurait y avoir de règle. Tout dépend des circonstances. Le principe, ainsi que nous le rappelions il y a un instant, c'est que notre choix est discrétionnaire. Il s'agit d'un échelon de commandement que nous avons créé et que nous imposons, non d'une institution coutumière maintenue par nous " (37).

In addition to that, association meant the disappearance of traditional judicial institutions. During the conquest French made treaties by virtue of which chiefs maintained most of their judicial powers. But their tendency to standardise and rationalise soon resulted in the imposition of a system which progressively deprived the chiefs of their judicial power - that is one of the main means by which they

(37) Rapport de l'Inspecteur des colonies Maret (5 décembre 1930). Quoted in Corvenin, R., 1961, p. 380 and Suret-Canale, J., 1971, p. 407-408.

could maintain their authority over their people - and subjected the populations to a uniform system which did not respect diversity and had no roots in tradition. The first step in that direction was taken in a 1903 decree by virtue of which village, provincial and cercle tribunals were created. According to the new set-up the village court, presided over by the village chief, only retained jurisdiction over minor misdemeanors and conciliatory powers in civil and commercial disputes while the provincial court, presided by a provincial or cantonal chief, was given competence over civil and correctional matters and the cercle tribunal, presided by the French administrator, was given jurisdiction over all criminal matters and all the cases in appeal from the lower courts. Nine years later the judicial capacity of the village chief was in practice abolished and all judicial authority was vested in a newly created tribunal of subdivision and in the tribunal of the cercle. The latter remained under the administrator but the former (38) could now be presided over by a European as well a native judge... who was in most cases a native clerk rather than a chief (39). In 1924, following a new decree, the subdivision and

(38) Which in fact replaced the former provincial tribunal.

(39) Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 1, p. 1007.

the cercle tribunals were respectively replaced by First and Second Degree courts. Whereas the latter remained exclusively under the authority of a European judge, the former was now meant to be usually presided over by a European and possibly in civil cases by a " notable indigène ". Finally in 1935, in a final step to move Africans away from the administration of justice, it was ruled that the presidency of the Tribunal of the First Degree - that is the last one that an African could preside over and this only in civil matters - should be entrusted as far as possible to " des fonctionnaires européens spécialisés " and only " à titre exceptionnel " to a " notable indigène " (40).

Finally, association meant the introduction of a system of taxation and forced labour into which, in addition to a head tax proper, each adult subject was liable to annual labour tax called " prestation " and to compulsory work for public services at the administration's will (41). Here again the system advocated was uniform and operated within the framework of the new administrative pattern. The chiefs were used but only to perform the very unpopular

(40) For more details about " la Justice Indigène " see Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 1 ; Labouret, H., 1935 and Suret-Canale, J., 1964.

(41) The " prestation ", a certain number of days of labour tax, was redeemable at a certain sum a day while compulsory labour was done in return for payment (See Buell, R. L., 1928, Vol. 2 ; Crowder, M., 1968; and Suret-Canale, J., 1964.

tasks of collecting taxes and recruiting forced labour, manifestly in the name of an omnipresent and omniscient central authority.

So, association did not mean indirect rule but on the contrary a form of direct rule or " paternalism " whose impact could not but disrupt traditional societies and create new basic political and social attitudes. By drawing up administrative divisions ignoring the existing ethnic and political distribution, association encouraged the effective breaking up of most former units. By rejecting traditional institutions and imposing a uniform administrative system paying no regard to cultural diversity, it favoured the neutralisation of several basic elements of differentiation among the groups. By abating the role, authority and status of the chief and moreover by using him as a down-rated agent forced to endorse unpopular measures deeply upsetting the traditional pattern of authority and customs, it deprived the various communities of a key figure formerly symbolising collective identity and left them unorganised, silent and permeable to influences. Concurrently association meant the introduction of a territorial system and new basic political and social institutions which favoured the emergence of new perceptions based on new realities, impressed upon the population the mark of a central and unifying authority and finally made real the fact of a Senegal superseding former ethnic divisions.

Thus assimilation and association were not opposite policies but rather two different aspects of direct rule, strongly assimilationist in character, which have had serious and complementary effects on the character of the population. Assimilation in the four communes gave birth to a sizeable elite and a community rather unconcerned about ethnic divisions, endowed with new symbols and institutions and increasingly responsive to the idea of nation. Association neutralised former divisive sources of power, symbols and institutions and gave to the colony a common administrative system strongly centralised and most likely to impress upon the population the idea of a new scale and new type community.

Thus colonial rule in Senegal decisively contributed to break the ethnic group as a distinct system of life. Moreover it established a relationship of contacts between the members of each group and created areas of compatibility extending well beyond the horizon of the ethnic group. This last point is very important if it is considered that the process of integration not only depends on the disintegration of older associations but also on the emergence of a new kind of total identity.

PART THREE

MODERNISATION

If with Fougeyrollas (1) and others modernisation is defined as a broad process by which a non-industrial society becomes an industrial society, it is evident that the purely political aspect of colonisation was an important facet of modernisation. The source of modernisation in Africa was the colonial situation and, as Kilson (2) pointed out, power was the essence of the colonial

(1) Fougeyrollas, 1967, p. 8.

(2) Kilson, M., 1963, p. 427.

situation. Accordingly, it may be said that the establishment of a colonial state was crucial to the conditions of modernisation.

The colonial situation was the origin of several changes. The actions required to administer or rule the indigenous populations, and especially the administrative structure and the procedures set up to adjust them to the new framework of law and order, have had serious effects on the character of the population. This has been emphasized in chapter three. The colonial state, however, was a means which served some ends and it is in the nature of the ends it served that is found perhaps the main facet of its modernising role. The ends the colonial state served were directly associated with the groups who controlled the metropolitan social system. Thus the administrators, the philanthropists and the missionaries who were an emanation of this system, and the commercial and entrepreneurial groups who had a major control over it, were in a position to have a determinant influence over the colonial state and its apparatus, and especially over its socio-economic evolution. And, as Kilson argues very convincingly, it was this imported oligarchy that was the main force behind the "elaboration of a money economy and a related social system" (3).

(3) Kilson, M., 1963, p. 430.

Within the framework of this study, this important aspect of the modernisation process is of great interest because it was at the origin of changes that are highly relevant to the national integration issue. So much is this so that the process is sometimes seen as inseparable from that of the formation of nations. According to Fougeyrollas, for instance, " Les nations ... ne sont rien d'autre que les communautés historiques selon lesquelles les sociétés globales se manifestent dans leur accession à la modernité " (4). And the same author defines " la réalité nationale " as " cette forme d'organisation adoptée par la société globale, à l'ère de l'industrialisation "(5). This view is easier to understand if it is realised that modernisation was responsible for several transformations which were basically characterised by a re-ordering of social relationships or, to put it in Lloyd's terms, by a change " both in the form of relationships among people and in the number and type of relationships in which the individual used to participate " (6). In other words, the introduction of an exchange economy, and the new set of relationships it implied, penetrated deep into the substance and ideology of the ethnic organisation and solidarity and provided the basic elements susceptible to foster the development

(4) Fougeyrollas, P. 1967, p. 22.

(5) Idem, p. 23.

(6) Lloyd, P. C., 1969, p. 161.

of a large scale society.

The changes involved are very complex and varied and it is not easy to choose among the processes by which they have occurred. In this particular case, the choice has settled on three aspects : the introduction of a money economy, the development of urbanisation and the establishment of a modern system of education. The first of these processes directly concerns economic activity, the last concerns non-economic activity, and the second may be associated with both forms of activity. This should allow demonstration that it is very difficult to separate the economic and the social. The establishment of a modern system of education was a non-economic task, but it had important economic implications. The missionaries and teachers represented a social system where economy in the modern sense of the word played a key role, and this could not but influence their concept of " society " at the level of religion, education, or culture in general. Similarly, it is easy to imagine the social effects resulting from the conversion from a subsistence to an exchange economy in a society.

CHAPTER FOUR

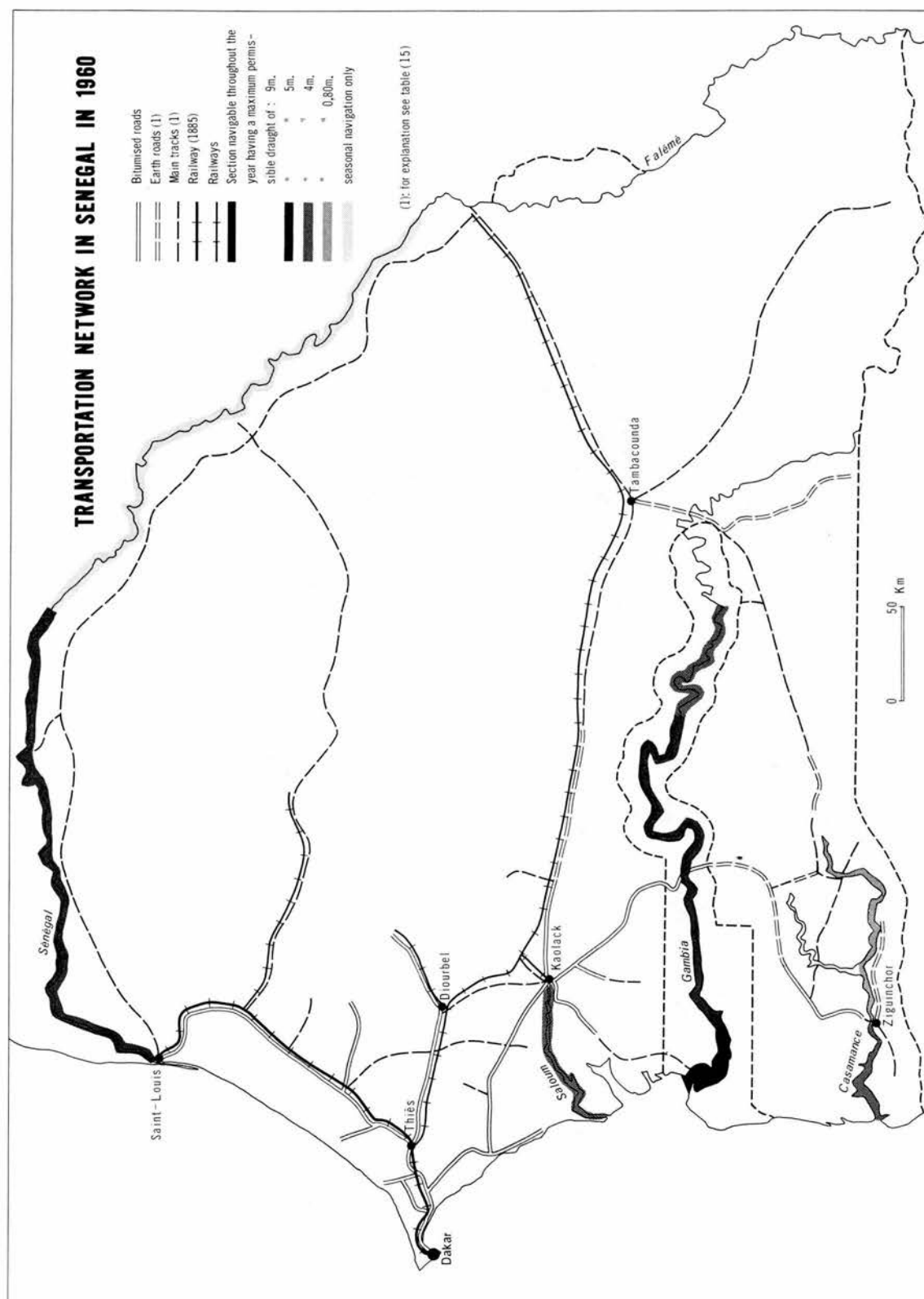
THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION.

The notion of economic revolution refers not only to a change in the means of production but also to a radical transformation in the structure of the economy, and for this reason it implies a long series of events. The idea here is not to dwell, even briefly, on all these events but to discuss those which seem most likely, in this particular case, to stress the importance of this agent in the process of national integration, namely the establishment of a modern transportation network, the introduction of a cash crop and the development of wage labour.

4.1 Transportation.

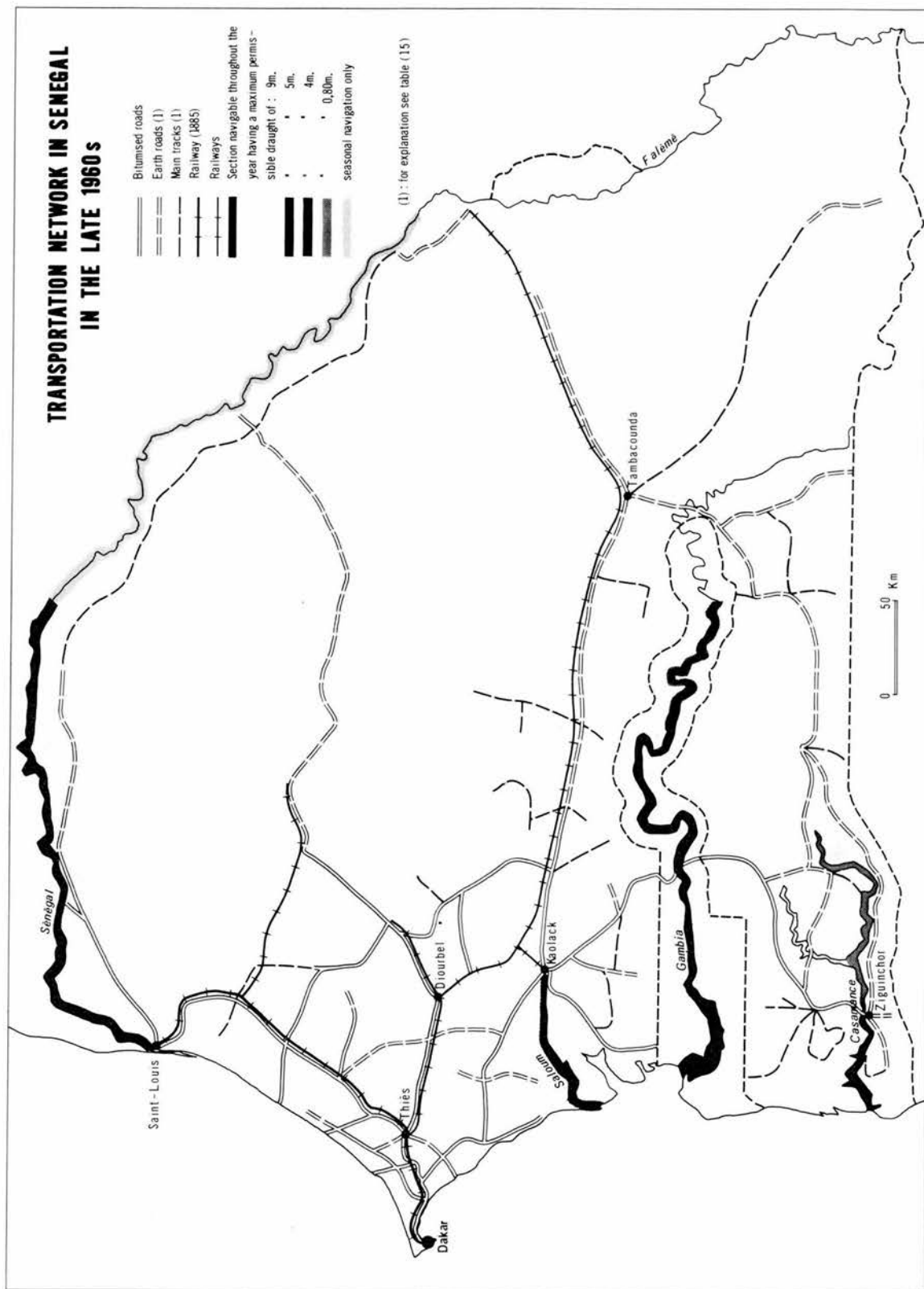
The establishment of modern means of transportation has played a key role in the process of integration in Senegal. For this reason a brief look at their evolution is necessary, not only to appreciate the extent to which it has favoured contacts but also to understand most changes related to modernisation.

On the eve of independence the transportation network in Senegal was far from being impressive (see figure 12). The contemporary network (see figure 13) represents a



Source: see table 15.

Figure 12



Source: see table 15.

Figure 13

certain improvement but it still comprises the same characteristics and deficiencies. First, the convergence of the main channels towards Dakar. Secondly, the relative importance as junctions of centers like Thiès, Kaolack, Diourbel and Tambacounda. Thirdly, the less favorable situation of Saint-Louis and Ziguinchor, connected to the network but poorly linked to their hinterland. Fourthly, the poverty of the network in the central and oriental regions, which may be explained by the sparse density of the population in those areas. Fifthly, the absence of a major North-South axis linking the Fleuve to other regions. Finally, the duplication of railways and roads in several areas.

For all that Senegal during the colonial period was not comparatively under-privileged for it could claim a transportation network equal if not superior to any in A.O.F. This was due in part to the existence of navigable rivers and a useful, though limited and poor, road network, but first of all to the early establishment of a good railway network.

In the beginning the rivers, chiefly the Senegal and Saloum, constituted the major ways of transportation. Before effective occupation, the Senegal was used as the main channel of penetration through an area then frequently

visited by the merchants of Saint-Louis, and during the conquest it served as the sole link between Saint-Louis and the interior. However its limitation (see table 7), the diminution in the commercial attraction of the valley and the construction of a railroad linking Dakar to the Niger have greatly diminished its importance (1).

With the expansion of groundnut cultivation in Sine-Saloum, the Saloum gained a considerable importance during the first decades of the century. As a result its head port, Kaolack, was in the 1930s the second most important in A.O.F. with a traffic of well over 200,000 tons. Here again however the limitations of the river (2) and the construction of a railway line and roads has considerably diminished its importance in spite of a continuing increase of groundnut production in the area (see table 8).

-
- (1) As a measure of that the decline in the traffic of the port of Saint-Louis may be mentioned : approximately 100,000 tons in 1900 or so and 40 to 50,000 tons on the eve of independence (C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A., 1960, Rapport général, vol. 1, p. 1 - 1 (51). For further details see Camara, C., 1968, part II, chapter 1.
 - (2) The Saloum from the coast to Kaolack is navigable throughout the year by boats of 1,000 tons but a sandbar at the mouth and moving sand thresholds upstream handicap navigation.

Table 7

APPROXIMATIVE PERIOD OF NAVIGATION ON THE SENEGAL RIVER

Maximum draught	St-Louis to Mafou (335 kms) (1)	Mafou to Matam (288 kms)	Matam to Kayes (301 kms)
5 meters	All year	Occasional years	Occasional years
3	" "	5 Aug. - 15 Oct.	10 Aug. - 5 Oct.
2	" "	25 July - 20 Oct.	1 Aug. - 10 Oct.
1	" "	5 July - 20 Nov.	15 July - 10 Nov.

Source : Peterec, R. J., 1967, p. 167.

(1) Mafou is the name of a sand-bar 68kms (42 m.) upstream from Podor.

Comment : In theory the Senegal River is navigable as far as few miles above Kayes (Félou Rapids) or a distance of close to 1000 kms (600 m.) from its mouth. However, as shown in the table above, navigation conditions vary according to the section of the river and the period of the year. Moreover it must be noted that the sandbar at the mouth of the river constitutes a severe handicap to full utilisation of the river's potential as the maximum permissible draught for ships crossing it varies from 8 feet (2.4 m.) to 12 feet (3.6 m.).

Table 8

PORT OF KAOLACK

TRAFFIC OF FREIGHT IN THE 1930s AND IN THE LATE 1950s (tons)

	1930s	Late '1950s
Imports	75,000	50,000
Exports (1)	191,000	100,000 to 150,000
Total	266,000	175,000

Source : Guiraud, X., 1937, p. 158 and C.I.N.A.M.-S.E.R.S.A., 1960, Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1-1 (51).

(1) Chiefly groundnuts and by-products in the 1930s.
Chiefly groundnuts and by-products, and salt in the late 1950s.

Comment : Although the production has increased in the area, the traffic has not increased and has even decreased.

Navigation on the Casamance offers some difficulties. Still, the river is navigable up to Ziguinchor by boats whose draught does not exceed 15 feet. Above Ziguinchor however the maximum draught goes down to less than three feet and the river is navigable only by lighters and barges as far as Kolda. During the early colonial period, the river network was the only means of transportation in this area. However, since the 1920s and chiefly since independence there has been an effort to build reliable roads linking Ziguinchor to its hinterland and to the rest of Senegal. Ziguinchor, the regional capital of Casamance and its main port, has a traffic as important as that of Kaolack. In the C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A. report it is however described as : " un port de circonstances imposé beaucoup plus par des impératifs politiques que par des nécessités économiques " (3).

To-day these three waterways can still be considered as a noticeable part of the transportation network but their relative importance has constantly diminished throughout the last decades. This is mainly due to their limitations as waterways and to the existence of railways

(3) C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1-1 (51).

and roads linking urban centers and intense areas of production to Dakar, the most populous city, the main commercial and industrial center and the only oceanic harbour.

To understand the key role played by railways in Senegal, their early development and their intimate relation with the expansion of the economy must be realised.

In 1931, at a time when most of the roads were for all intents and purposes, rough and narrow dry season trails, the railway line Dakar - Saint-Louis had been in operation almost 50 years, the Thiès-Kaolack line for 20 years and the Dakar-Niger line for almost a decade. On the other hand the spurs from Louga-Linguère and Diourbel-Touba were completed that same year (see figure 14). As a result Senegal in 1931 had a railway network of 1035 Kms (650 m.) totaling nearly 30% of the length of railways to be found in the whole A.O.F. Moreover if the section in Soudan (now Mali) to which it was linked is added, the network had a length of 1680 Kms (1050 m.) and represented nearly 45% of the total railway length of the A.O.F. (see table 9 and 10).

The railway network in Senegal was not only the longest but also the busiest in A.O.F. in terms of passengers as well as in terms of freight. As early as 1933 the

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAY NETWORK OF SENEGAL

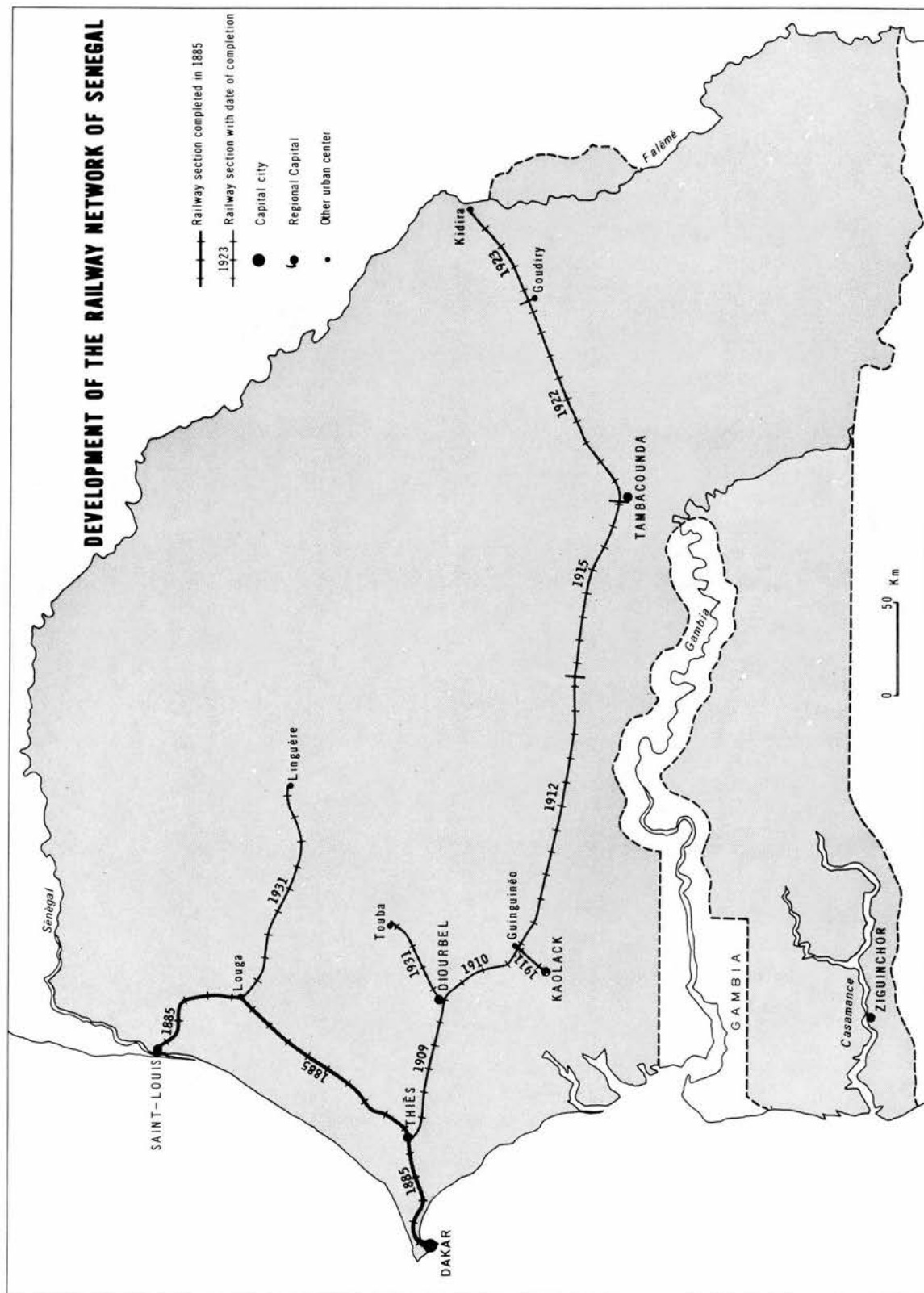


Table 9

THE DAKAR-NIGER RAIL NETWORK IN 1931 (1)

Territories and lines	Length of lines (kms)	Length in each territory (kms)	Total length of network (kms)
SENEGAL :		1035	
Dakar-Kidira	647		
Diourhel-Touba	45		
Guinguinéo-Kaolack	21		
Thiès-Saint-Louis	192		
Louga-Linguère	130		
SOUDAN :		645	
Kidira-Koulikoro	645		1680

Various sources.

(1) It is still the same today.

Table 10

RAILWAYS OF THE A.O.F. LENGTH IN USE IN 1934

Networks	Length (kms)	% of total length
Dakar-Niger	1,680	44.4
Conakry-Niger	662	17.5
Abidjan-Niger	807	21.3
Bénin-Niger	634	16.8
Total	3,783	100.0

Source : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1936, p. 54.

Dakar-Niger could claim about 50% of both the passenger and freight traffic (see table 11 and 12). On a more local scale the early impact of the railway may be illustrated by the traffic intensity on both the sections Dakar - Saint-Louis and Thiès - Kayes in the 1920s. On the former, between 1922 and 1930, the annual average traffic amounted to 684,000 persons and 384,000 tons of freight, while on the latter, between 1920 and 1923, it amounted to 342,000 passengers and 136,000 tons of freight (see table 13 and 14). And as early as 1885 and 1894 the Dakar - Saint-Louis line transported respectively 100,000 and 205,000 persons as well as 25,000 and 67,000 tons of freight. (4)

Among the freight groundnuts constituted the main item. In 1926, for instance, on a total tonnage of 434,000 tons, it accounted for 58% (230,000 tons) on the section Dakar - Saint-Louis and for 54% (161,000 tons) on the section Thiès-Niger. The close association between groundnuts and the railway originated in the 1880s and remained a main feature of the economic pattern throughout the colonial period. The expansion of groundnuts from the coast seems clearly to have been associated with the railways. The Dakar - Saint-Louis line could explain the essential

(4) Villard, A., 1943, p. 161.

Table 11
RAILROAD PASSENGER TRAFFIC IN A.O.F.
BETWEEN 1933 AND 1955

Lines	Passengers in ' 000									
	1933	%	1938	%	1943	%	1950	%	1955	%
Dakar-Niger	636	50	2,665	58	2,862	59	2,129	44	3,258	50
Conakry-Niger	74	6	234	5	705	14	558	11	620	9
Adibjan-Niger	271	22	652	14	901	18	931	19	1,362	21
Bénin-Niger	279	22	1,045	23	413	8	1,244	26	1,313	20
Total	1,260		4,596		4,881		4,862		6,553	
Lines	Passenger-kilometers in ' 000									
Dakar-Niger	61,200		185,454		264,614		227,000		268,000	
Conakry-Niger	9,500		28,832		39,450		31,000		39,000	
Abidjan-Niger	21,500		66,744		112,483		138,000		143,000	
Bénin-Niger	10,600		49,724		26,468		53,000		64,000	
Total	102,800		330,754		443,015		448,000		514,000	

Sources : 1933 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1936, p. 55.
 1938 and 1943 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 144.
 1950 and 1955 : Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, 1957, p. 221.

Table 12

RAILROAD FREIGHT TRAFFIC IN A.O.F.

BETWEEN 1933 AND 1955

Lines	Freight in 000 tons									
	1933	%	1938	%	1943	%	1950	%	1955	%
Dakar-Niger	226	46	516	43	356	38	689	47	812	55
Conakry-Niger	58	12	238	20	80	8	119	8	132	9
Adidjan-Niger	162	33	307	26	430	45	531	36	430	29
Bénin-Niger	48	10	126	11	81	9	117	8	109	7
Total	494		1,187		947		1,456		1,483	
Lines	Ton - Kilometers in 000									
Dakar-Niger	58,800		180,600		121,600		301,000		371,000	
Conakry-Niger	13,300		28,600		18,500		40,000		43,000	
Adidjan-Niger	19,200		58,400		56,300		93,000		132,000	
Bénin-Niger	4,500		14,600		8,100		18,000		27,000	
Total	95,800		282,000		204,500		453,000		573,000	

Sources : 1933 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1936, p. 55.
 1938 and 1943 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 145.
 1950 and 1955 : Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, 1957, p. 221.

Table 13

PASSENGER AND FREIGHT ON THE DAKAR-SAINT-LOUIS LINE
IN THE 1920s

Years	Passengers		Freight	
	in '000	per year average	in '000 tons	per year average
1922	595		211	
1923	691		256	
1924	773		254	
1925	1,042		383	
1926	952		434	
1927	586		387	
1928	606		362	
1929	546		325	
1930	357		300	
		683		324

Source : Lagardé, M., 1932, p. 188.

Table 14

PASSENGER AND FREIGHT ON THE THIES-KAYES LINE
BETWEEN 1920 AND 1923

Years	Passengers		Freight	
	in '000	per year average	in '000 tons	per year average
1920	347		147	
1921	249		125	
1922	322		141	
1923	448		133	
		342		136

Source : Lagarde, M., 1932, p. 192.

part played by the Cayor in the beginning of the century, then it is along the Dakar - Niger line, built in the 1910s and the early 1920s, that the front progressed (see figure 15, 16 and 17).

From the early 1950s onwards, the roads have become more and more competitive, but for all that the railways have not lost their attraction and, to judge by their recent traffic, they still fulfil a major role in transportation (see figure 18).

To conclude, it could be said that the railways in Senegal have had three important effects. First, they allowed Dakar to expand its influence and attraction and become a dominant urban center whose role as the main polariser has constituted a factor of unity since independence. Secondly, they have made possible the development of the Groundnut basin, still today the main economic asset of the country. Finally, they have enhanced movements of population and meaningful contacts in the most populated area of the country. Briefly, the railways have strongly contributed towards a Senegalese entity. Today 6 of the 7 regional capitals, 9 of the 10 most populous towns and three of the four main harbours are linked by railways. In each case, Ziguinchor, the principal center of a peripheral region separated by the Gambia, is the isolated node.

EXTENSION OF RAILWAYS AND PROGRESSION OF GROUNDNUT CULTIVATION IN SENEGAL

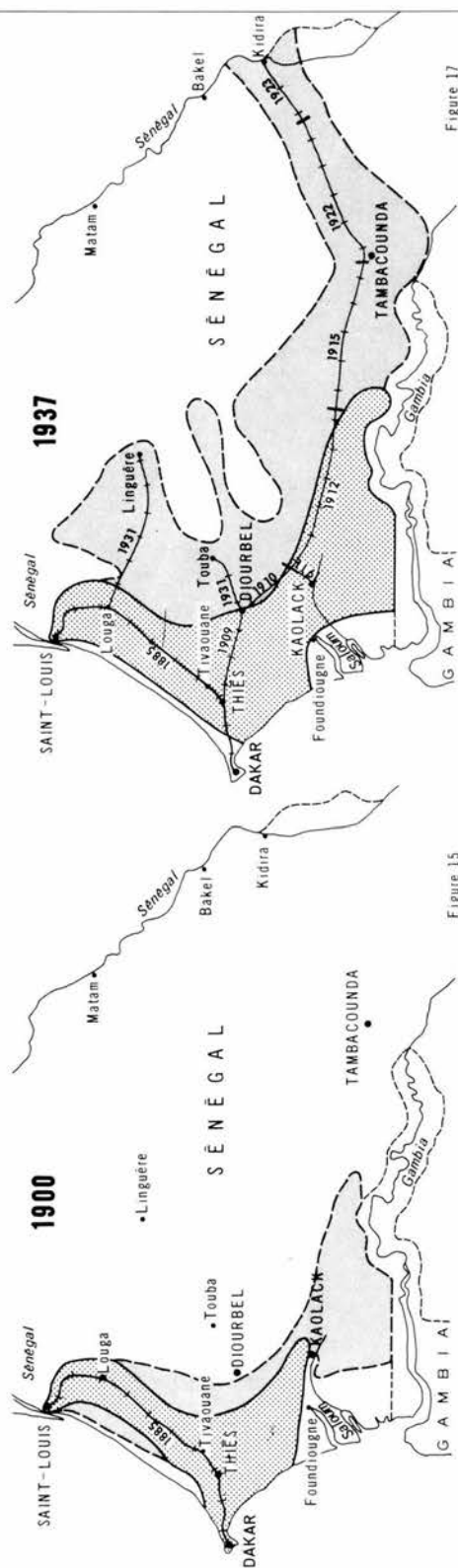


Figure 17

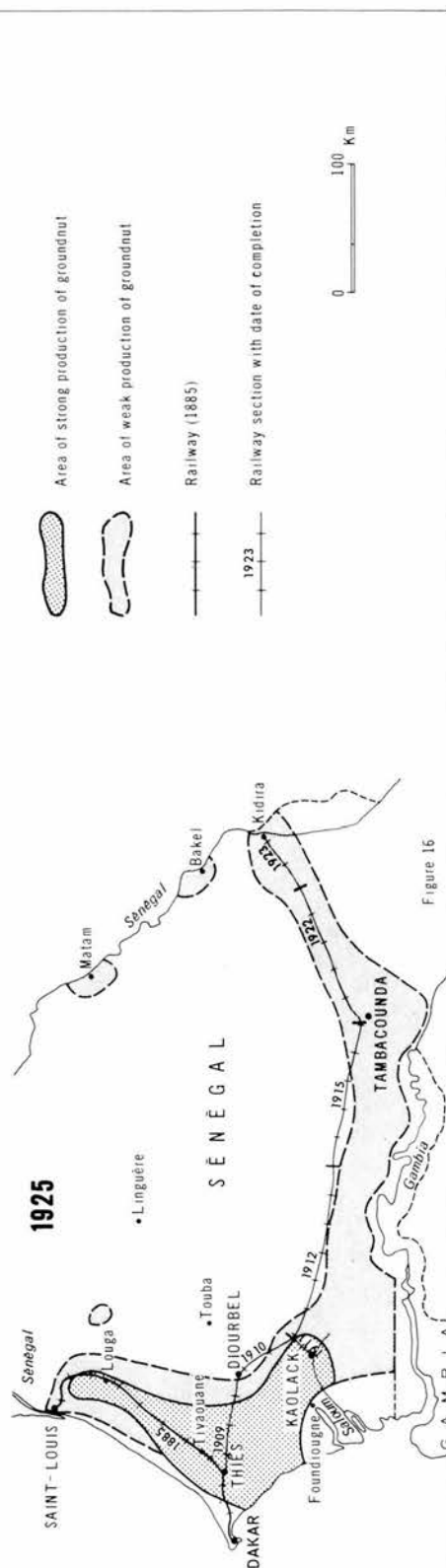
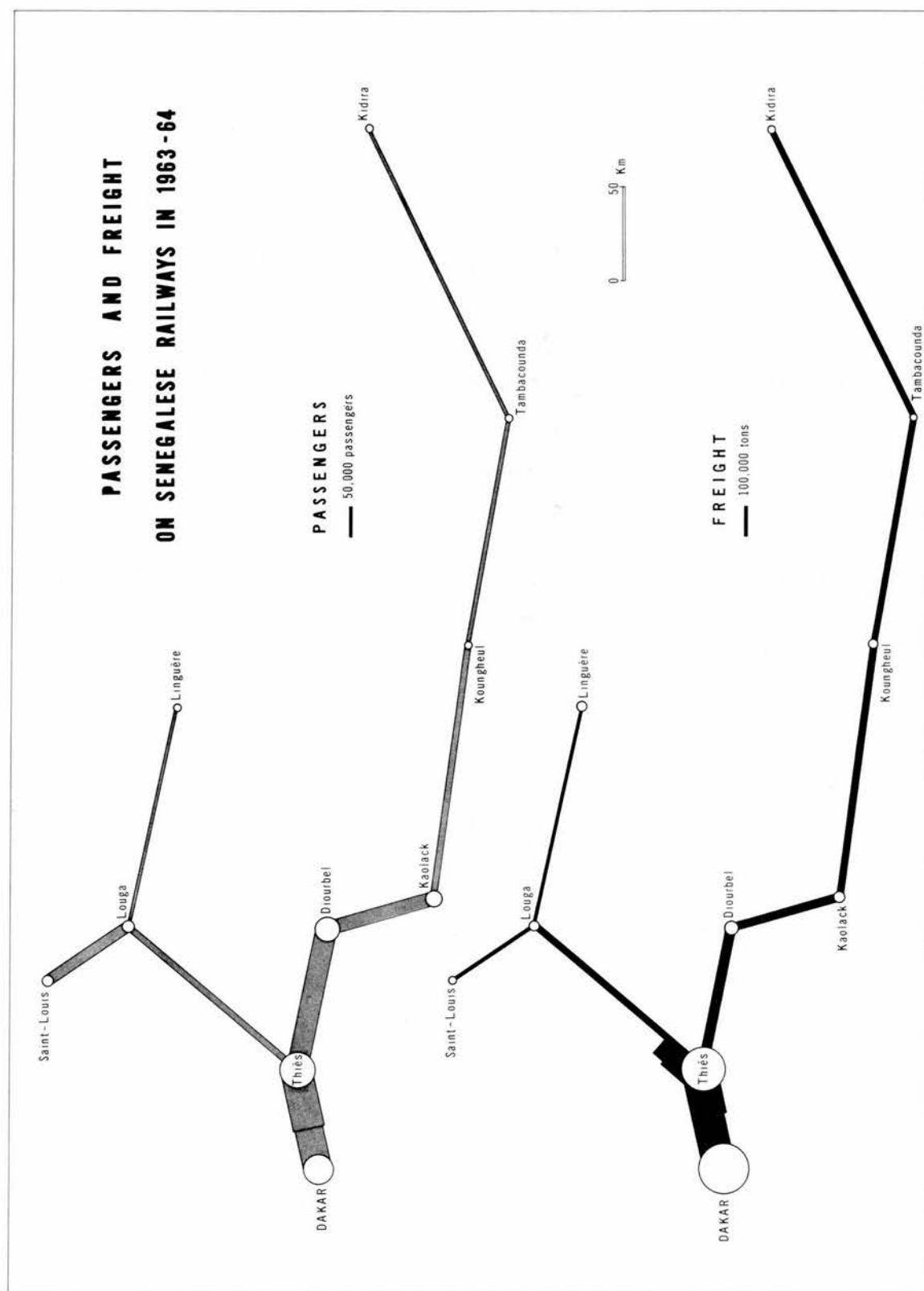


Figure 15

- Area of strong production of groundnut
- Area of weak production of groundnut
- Railway (1885)
- Railway section with date of completion
- 1923

0 100 Km



Source: Senegal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p.27.

Figure 18

In comparison with the railways the roads in Senegal were late to come. Yet Ravagny (5) in the late 1920s presented the network as 5,000 Kms (3,000 m.) long and according to official sources the length of roads and trails normally usable throughout the year totaled 3,300 Kms (2,000 m.) in 1934 (6). These figures give in fact a misleading impression for at that time the roads in Senegal, even the main ones, consisted mostly of rough and narrow trails difficult to use during the dry season and impracticable during the wet season. Guiraud, whose survey on groundnut culture led him to look closely at the road network, described it in the following terms as late as 1937 : " ... A proprement parler, le réseau routier du Sénégal qui, sur la carte, apparaît assez développé est presque inexistant. On ne peut en effet donner le nom de route à des pistes tracées dans la brousse sur l'emplacement des anciens sentiers indigènes, d'une largeur tout juste suffisante pour un véhicule et qui n'ont reçu aucun revêtement susceptible de résister aux efforts qu'elles doivent supporter ainsi qu'aux dégradations causées par les intempéries. Il en résulte que pendant l'hivernage, les routes sont détrempées et très souvent impraticables et que,

(5) Ravagny, A., 1928, p. 253.

(6) Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1936, p. 54.

pendant la saison sèche, sous l'influence du roulage intensif leur couche superficielle de terre battue et séchée se désagrège rapidement et se transforme en sable rendant la circulation des camions difficile, parfois dangereuse et toujours onéreuse en raison des avaries et de l'usure qu'elles occasionnent au matériel ". (7)

This was due to the fact that for a long time road construction was subordinated to the railway which was seen as the main means of commercial transportation. After the second World War however, there was a move away from this original conception and a reliable, though still limited road network, evolved in its own right (see table 15). Today, as in the case of railways the densest part of the network is found in the region of greatest economic interest, that is in the Groundnut basin. But since independence there has been a clear attempt to equip more adequately the Fleuve and Casamance : two populous peripheral regions avoided by the railway and until now deprived of a satisfactory road network (see figure 12 and 13).

In concluding this brief summary of transportation, it may be said that the possibility of large and regular movements on waterways, railways and roads has

(7) Guiraud, X., 1937, p. 145-146.

Table 15

POSTWAR EVOLUTION OF THE ROAD NETWORK (kms)

Categories of Roads	1948	1952	1955	1960	Late 1960s
Bitumised	30	550	390	670	1,658
Metalled	527				
Earth roads (1)	1,177	3,350	3,710	1,190	1,712 (4)
Tracks (2)	1,342	7,600	7,600	10,740	9,230
Total	3,076	11,700	11,700	12,600 (3)	12,600

Sources : 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 171.
 1952 : Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, 1957, p. 209.
 1955 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1957, p. 95.
 1960 : C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A., Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1-1 (49) to 1-1 (55).
 Late 1960s : Estimates based on various sources and field experience.

- (1) In 1948, 1952 and 1955 this category is entitled : "Routes en terres permanentes" (Permanent earth roads) but evidence shows that the weather and poor maintenance rendered many of them impracticable during the rainy season (see note 3).
- (2) Most of the tracks are impracticable during the rainy season for ordinary vehicles.
- (3) According to the source the Earth roads and tracks are impracticable during the rainy season in several areas of the interior.
- (4) A small proportion of these roads (mostly in Middle and Upper Casamance) were under construction in the mid-1960s and are presumed to be completed. These Earth roads are theoretically usable throughout the year.

Comment : Due to obviously different interpretations throughout the period, it is not easy to present consistent data concerning the evolution of the road network. Nevertheless the above table gives an idea of the improvement during the last decades. With respect to bitumised roads, it is evident and clear : their length has increased more than tenfold from 1948 to 1955 and has almost increased fivefold from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s. In the case of reliable earth roads the assessment is more difficult to make until 1960 but it seems certain that their length has improved considerably since independence (see note (1) and last sentence of note (4)).

increased the extent and intensity of contacts within the territory and provided the basic framework upon which a modern and large scale society could develop, that is a network of channels through which modern values could progress and the new entity be given a social, political and economic dimension. The introduction of modern means of transportation has meant greater mobility for ideas, people and goods, greater scope for economic development and greater opportunity for the administration to convey its influence and authority across the territory. In reducing social, economic and political, as well as physical, distances, railways, roads and waterways have provided Senegal with a major agent of the unification process, that is the ability to exchange and to communicate. This is perhaps not always very clear in the brief discussion devoted to their development but will emerge further in the rest of the thesis.

4.2 Cash cropping.

The groundnut was introduced into Senegal during the 16th century from the Americas. In the beginning it was only used as a subsistence crop by the native and as a foodstuff on the slave-ships leaving for the New World and its cultivation was fairly limited. However, as soon as its exploitation as a source of vegetable oil began in the

early 1840s, it gained a commercial value and its production soared greatly. The quantity introduced in trade which amounted to 70 tons in 1841 reached 9,000 tons in 1870, 140,000 tons in 1900, 500,000 tons in 1930 and nearly 1,000,000 tons in the early 1960s (see tables 16 and 17).

For our purpose these figures, however telling, are meaningless if not related to two other aspects of the groundnut phenomenon in Senegal : first, the intimate relationships between the peasantry and the groundnut and secondly, the outstanding economic importance of groundnuts. These two aspects explain the impact of the crop on traditional society in Senegal.

Contrary to some types of tropical industrial culture, the production of groundnuts requires large space and also a large labour force ready each year to cultivate and then harvest the crop (9). As a result the groundnut has rapidly spread throughout vast areas of rural Senegal and its production has become essentially the affair of the peasant. Hence follows the close relationship between groundnuts and both agricultural Senegal and the distribution of population. The relationship between agricultural

(9) After World War Two there has been an attempt to mechanise the culture of groundnuts but up to now the results have been at best mediocre.

Table 16

GROUNDNUT INTRODUCED IN TRADE, 1841-1960

Years	Tons	Years	Tons
1841 (1)	70	1910	227,299
1853	3,000	1915	303,067
1865	5,811	1920	300,339
1870	8,762	1925	453,733
1875	13,902	1930	508,195
1880	34,270	1935	392,308
1885	45,061	1939/40 (2)	543,528
1890	27,221	1944/45	337,395
1895	51,600	1949/50	405,595
1900	140,922	1954/55	385,049
1905	96,175	1959/60	717,105

Sources : Guiraud, X., 1937, p. 37 and Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et de l'Industrie, 1968, p. 1.

- (1) From 1841 to 1935 : tonnage exported. As throughout the period Senegalese consumption was very low, these figures represent the bulk of the production.
- (2) From 1939/40 to 1959/60 : tonnage introduced in trade excluding local domestic consumption and seeds for the next season.

Table 17

GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION, 1961-1965

Years	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Tons	995,000	894,000	952,000	1,109,000 (1)	1,100,000

Source : Brigaud, F., 1967, p. 45 .

(1) In 1964, out of that amount 839,000 tons were introduced in trade.

Table 18

GROUNDNUT AND FOREIGN TRADE IN COLONIAL SENEGAL (1)

Years	Exports, total value in francs	Groundnut exports	
		Value in francs	% of total value of exports
1890	12,517,000	5,426,000	43
1900	32,932,000	24,240,000	73
1913	72,937,000	59,892,000	82
1920	428,690,000	292,735,000	68
1925	540,610,000	505,857,000	91
1930	599,223,000	501,844,000	83
1935	400,922,000	347,334,000	86

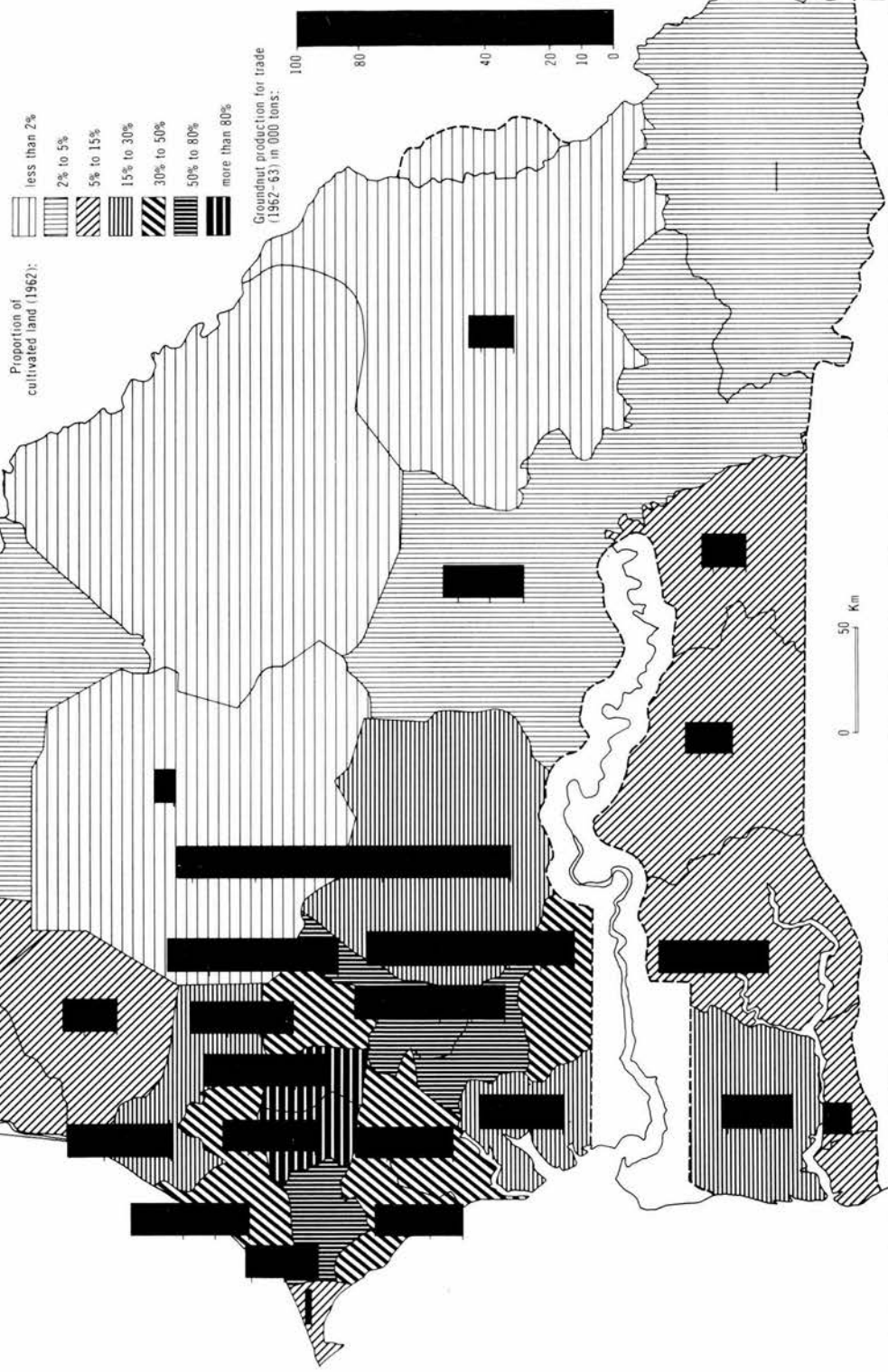
Source : Guiraud, X., 1937, p. 38 .

(1) Still today it represents about 80% .

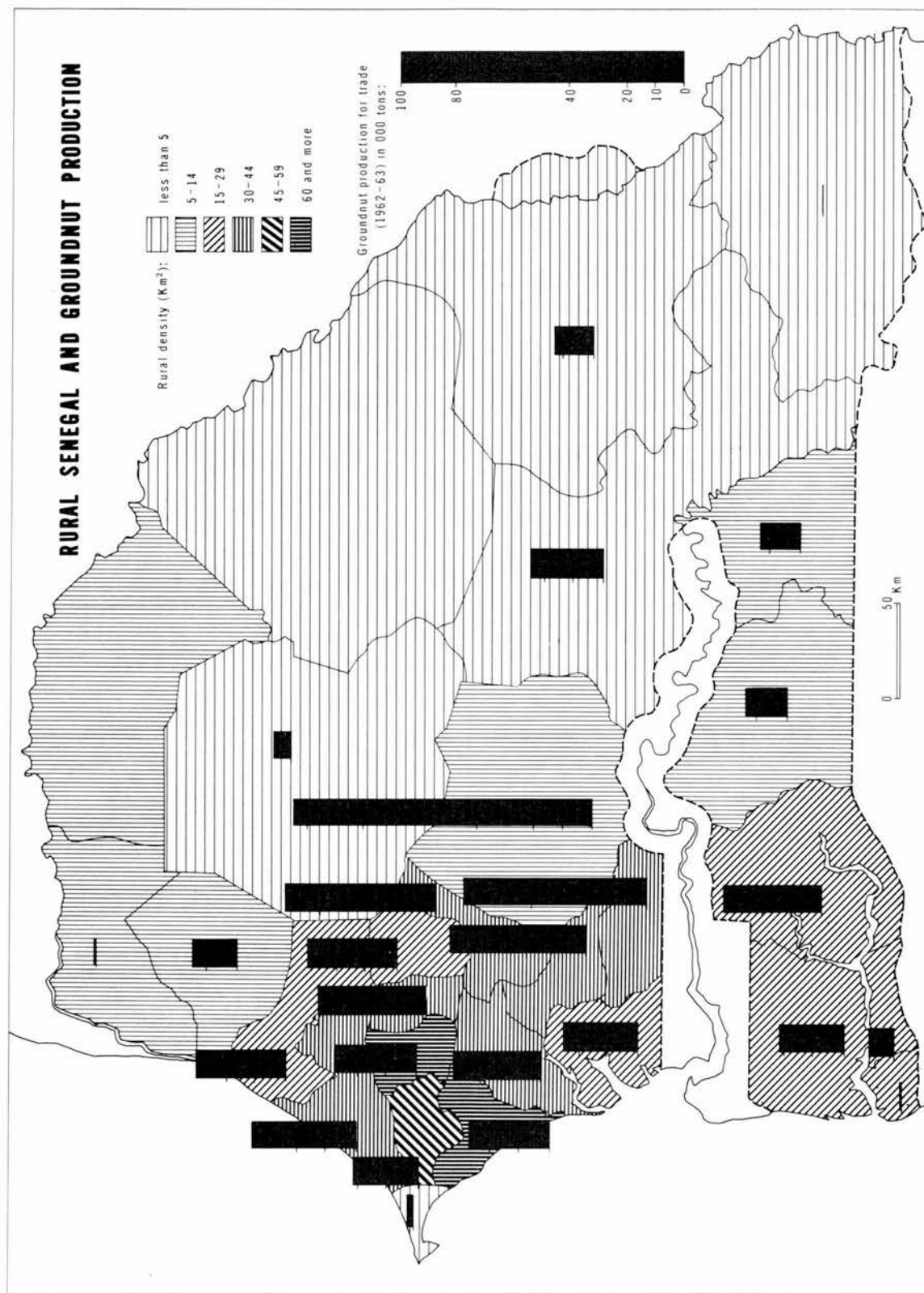
activity and groundnuts is best illustrated by the fact that the extension of the groundnut covers almost entirely the areas of cultivated land in the country and occupies 50% of it (see figure 19). As to the link between population distribution and groundnuts, it is sufficient to underline that the culture of this crop expands over a rural area which comprises about 60% of the total population and over 80% of the rural population of the country (see figure 20). It is thus the bulk of rural Senegal that was touched by the groundnut phenomenon.

Groundnuts as a commercial commodity rapidly became the main source of income for both Senegal and the A.O.F. during the colonial period, and since independence they have remained so for Senegal. During the colonial period the groundnut came to represent as much as 75% or more of the total value of the exports of Senegal (see table 18). Moreover, within the wider context of the A.O.F. the external commerce of Senegal, depending mainly on groundnuts, represented in the 1930s nearly 60% of the value exported from the entire French West African Federation (see table 19). As the almost unique source of income of the Government General were the custom duties, one may imagine the importance of groundnuts not only for Senegal but for the entire federation (see table 20). As for today's Senegal, groundnuts

CULTIVATED LAND AND GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION IN SENEGAL



RURAL SENEGAL AND GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION



Sources: Senegal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p.30 and Senegal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement, 1964, p.5 to 13. Figure 20

Table 19

A.O.F. AND SENEGAL. FOREIGN TRADE IN THE 1930s

Years	A.O.F. Value in francs	SENEGAL	
		Value in francs	% of A.O.F.
1934	1,089,560,000	639,323,000	59
1935	1,359,520,000	810,020,000	60
1936	1,829,510,000	1,042,849,000	57

Source : Guiraud, X., 1937, p. 43.

Table 20

CUSTOM DUTIES PAID IN A.O.F. AND SENEGAL IN THE 1930s

Years	A.O.F.	SENEGAL	
		Amount	% of A.O.F.
1934	126,149,000	64,845,000	51
1935	146,684,000	72,011,000	49
1936	185,727,000	86,198,000	46

Source : Guiraud, X., 1937, p. 43.

contribute among other things around 80% of the export returns, 75% of the cash income of the peasantry and 40% of the industrial turnover (10). Such figures stress the key role groundnuts came to play in the economy and which should help to understand the early and far-reaching government intervention discussed later.

From a socio-economic point of view the history of groundnuts in Senegal is first of all the history of the conversion from subsistence agriculture to an exchange economy. The effects on traditional organisation of such a change were deep. Perhaps the best example one could choose to illustrate this point is the dislocation of the extended family : the basic social cell in traditional Senegal and perhaps the main pillar of traditional organisation. Until the introduction of groundnuts as a cash crop the indigenous family was on the whole comparable to the gens romana and most often included not only the elder and his direct descendants but also his brothers and cousins and their descendants. Headed by a sort of pater familias responsible for the affairs of the community, it lived more or less in a closed economic system depending mainly on agriculture and oriented towards a paramount family weal. Within such a context the land, though divided into common and particular fields, was the inalienable property of the family as a whole and work was centered on the common

(10) Brigaud, F., 1967, p. 43.

fields. However the introduction of groundnuts, as a cash crop, gave a new meaning to property and work and as a result disturbed the existing state of affairs. In general the extended family has given way to the nuclear family. The common field has lost its importance in favour of the individual field, as if agricultural activity in ceasing to be exclusively of subsistence had lost at the same time most of its collective dimension and interest. In this respect it is interesting to note that if the common field has not disappeared entirely, it is now mainly dedicated to subsistence crops while the individual field is mainly dedicated to groundnuts, the profit of which is kept by the individual grower or growers. In a word, the introduction of a cash crop has tended to re-define the pattern of relationship between the individual and his socio-economic environment. It created new values and expectations individually oriented and based on economic realities cutting across traditional socio-political systems. This evolution was greatly encouraged by the particular economic context but it was also fostered considerably by the intervention of the administration in this key economic sector.

The introduction of groundnuts as a cash crop gave the administration one of the best occasions to confirm and express in deeds its control and authority over Senegal.

As a result of the increasing number of peasants dependent on the production of groundnuts and the latter's outstanding economic importance, the administration became soon involved in groundnut production and took several authoritative steps to encourage as well as to rationalise and control it. In addition to tax exemptions, the first of which goes back to 1848, the government charged the administrator as early as 1903 to set up granaries in each village and to collect from the peasants enough groundnuts to ensure the next season's seed. In 1910 the system was replaced by the establishment of " Sociétés de Prévoyance " (S.P.) in which all the producers were forced to be members from 1915. The S.P., though organised with the close cooperation of private firms, were official societies of public interest whose presidency was finally entrusted to the " commandant de cercle " in the early 1920s. Their main tasks were to collect and store seeds at the end of each crops season and to distribute them at the beginning of the next. In addition to that the trading period was officially and legally opened and closed by the administration to prevent peasants from selling too early and receiving too low prices. For the same purpose and also to diminish the action of proliferous middlemen, trading posts were selected and sales restricted only to these points. After the second World War the S.P. were

replaced by the " Sociétés Mutuelles de Production Rurale " (S.M.P.R.) which were replaced by the " Sociétés Mutuelles de Développement Rural " (S.M.D.R.) in 1956. Both these organisations differed little from the old S.P. : Adherence was still obligatory, they were still presided over by the " Commandant de Cercle " and in spite of their additional role as technical advisers they were still mainly concerned with collection and distribution of seeds.

After independence the intervention of the administration became even deeper. As early as 1960 a state bank, " Banque Sénégalaise de Développement " (B.S.D.), and a state controlled " Office de Commercialisation Agricole " (O.C.A.) were set up. The main task of the B.S.D., described by a minister in 1961 as " l'instrument financier d'intervention de la puissance publique dans le domaine économique " (11), was to provide credit to cooperatives organised and controlled by the government and to finance O.C.A. in its multiple activities. Until 1966 O.C.A.'s main tasks were to control prices firmly, to encourage and indeed contribute to the development of the cooperative movement (12), to provide the cooperatives with loans in material, foods, fertilizers and machinery, and to supply

(11) See Brigaud, F., 1967, p. 22.

(12) That is state controlled cooperatives, the only ones now permitted. In the mid-1960s they numbered nearly 1,500 and sold almost 60% of the marketed crop.

them with the various products they needed. On regional and local levels O.C.A. was assisted by the " Centre Régional d'Assistance pour le Développement " (C.R.A.D.), the " Centre d'Expansion Rurale " (C.E.R.) and the " Centre d'Animation Rurale " (C.A.R.). The C.R.A.D., set up in each administrative region, replaced the defunct S.M.D.R. The C.E.R. set up at the " arrondissement " level to encourage and improve agricultural techniques, was assisted in this task by the C.A.R. whose main purpose was to train, by means of short stages, small groups of peasants in the hope of spreading improved techniques. As a result, in addition to a far reaching administrative presence, a thick network of official centers manned by government agents intimately involved with peasant problems was laid down (see figure 21).

There occurred some changes in the mid-1960s and some more will certainly take place. However these changes did not affect the principle of intervention which is likely to remain in the foreseeable future. On the other hand, whatever may happen in the future, it seems certain that the direct intervention that has taken place during the last hundred years or so has greatly contributed in an indirect but none the less very effective way to impress upon the rural population the mark of a central authority and scatter among the peasantry the idea of a new political and

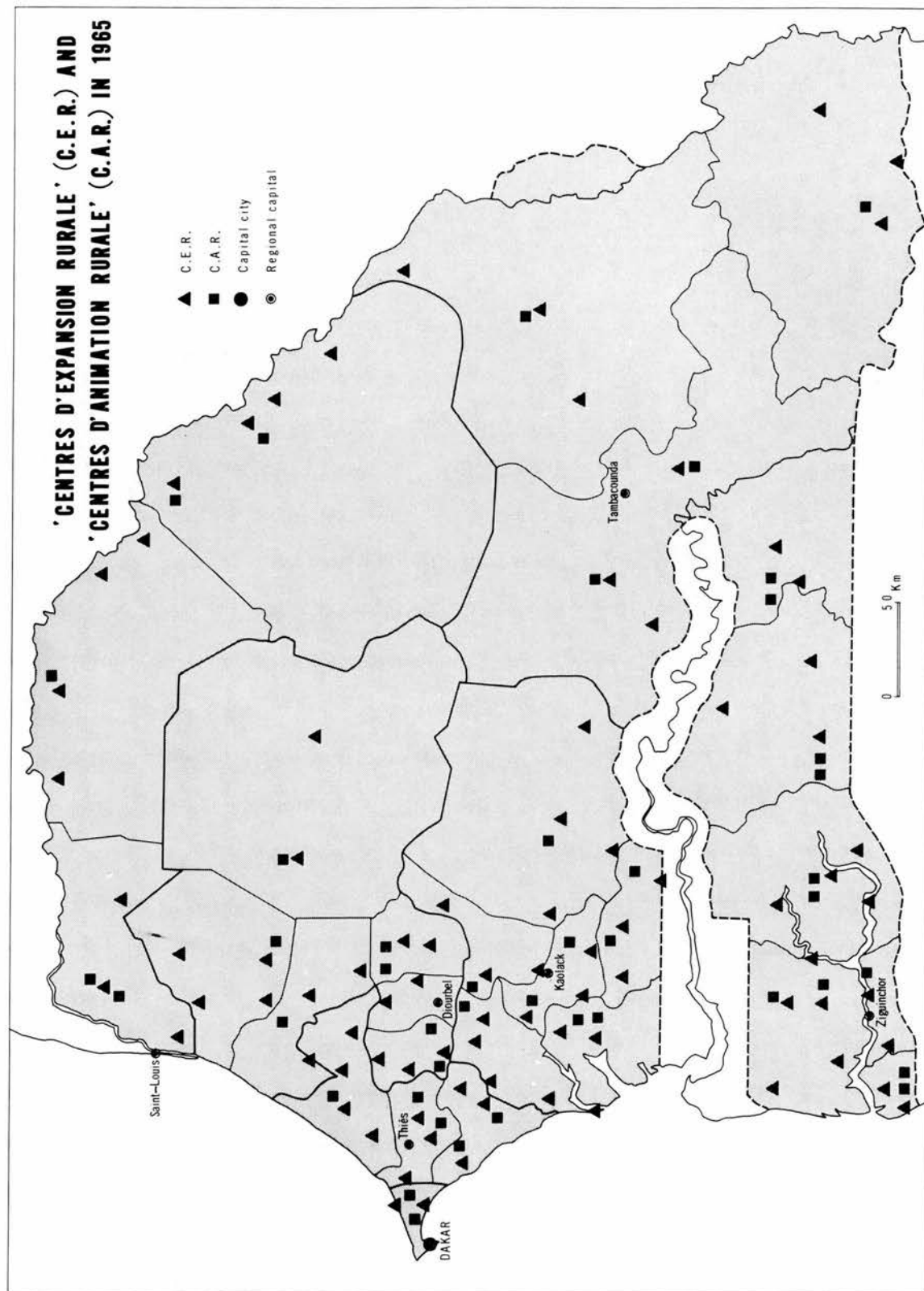


Figure 21

economic entity clearly superseding former divisions. And this more especially as the new administrative structure and divisions through which intervention was channelled ignored both traditional organisations and divisions.

4.3 Wage labour.

The economic revolution brought in by colonisation was also responsible for the introduction of wage labour.

In Europe in the early stage of the industrial revolution (13), there was a great growth of manufacturing and thus a diminution in primary occupations and a striking increase in secondary occupations. There was also an expansion of the tertiary sector but it was not as great as in the secondary sector. In Tropical Africa in general and in Senegal in particular the evolution was different, for the colonies were mainly seen for a long time as a reservoir of raw materials primarily destined for metropolitan factories, and manufacturing was directly discouraged. As a result, and even though Senegal remained throughout the colonial period the most industrialised country of French Tropical Africa (14), the industrial workers proper remained

(13) Here of course, the expression refers not only to a radical change in the methods of production but also to a change in the economic organisation in general.

(14) Although Ivory Coast has been catching up since 1960, the Senegalese industry is always the first among the former French African colonies.

very few in comparison with those involved in non-salaried primary occupations, namely agriculture. However, owing to a radical change in the economic situation whereby a great impulse was given to exchanges and commercial activities and the need for services of all kinds increased considerably, there soon emerged in Senegal a sizeable wage-earning population. Unfortunately it is impossible to give a precise picture for the information available is confused, inconsistent and sometimes contradictory. Even the most recent figures are incomplete and partially based on estimates. The data accessible however provides useful approximations. According to the A.O.F. 1936-1937-1938 statistical yearbook, over 40,000 workers were employed in European-type enterprises in 1936. Still according to official sources, the number of wage-earners reached 70,000 in 1947 and 100,000 in 1957, that is about 8% of the estimated active population. Such figures, very low by Western standards, yet compared very well with those of the other colonies and in fact emphasized the privileged position of Senegal (see tables 21 and 22). After independence the figures have attained about 115,000 in 1964 and 125,000 in 1968, that is approximately 8% of the active population (see table 23). If one adds to this last figure an equal

Table 21

A.O.F. WAGE-EARNERS IN 1936

Colonies	Private entreprise	Public Services	Total
Côte d'Ivoire	44,100 (1)	7,700	51,800
Dahomey	4,100	2,500	6,600
Guinée	12,700	3,800	16,500
Mauritanie	100		100
Niger	25,100	6,100	31,200
Sénégal	31,800	8,900	41,700
Soudan	9,800	9,300	19,100
A.O.F.	128,700	38,300	167,000

Source : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1939, p. 123.

- (1) This figure most probably includes a good number of seasonal or temporary agricultural workers (see note (3) of table 22).

Table 22

WAGE-EARNERS IN A.O.F. TERRITORIES AFTER WORLD WAR II

1947:	Ivory Coast	Dahomey	Guinea	Upper Volta	Mauritania	Niger	Senegal	Soudan	A.O.F. (4)
Primary	30,797	1,647	17,618		277	22	6,187	7,575	64,123
Secondary	7,510	524	1,527		138	251	24,254	4,056	38,260
Tertiary	38,322	9,875	16,061		2,096	4,672	40,860	17,397	129,283
Total	76,629	12,046	35,206		2,511	4,945	71,301	29,028	231,666
1957:									
Primary	92,000 (2)	1,842	34,930 (3)	1,443	347	311	5,646		136,519
Secondary	19,000	3,157	19,400	6,782	610	4,356	24,109		77,414
Tertiary	60,000	17,088	55,110	16,309	3,855	8,914	70,515		231,791
Total	171,000	22,087	109,440	24,534	4,812	13,581	100,270	41,813	487,537
Active population	1,337,000	866,000	1,340,000	1,172,000	328,000	1,243,000	1,212,000	1,944,000	10,036,000
Wage-earners' %	12.8	2.6	8.2		1.5		8.3	2.2	4.8

Sources : 1947 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 410.
 1957 : Haut-Commissariat Général à Dakar, 1959, p. 67.

- (1) As seen earlier in the case of Senegal, there was an under-evaluation of the total population before 1960. As a result it seems more than probable that the active population was also under-estimated.
 (2) This number which counts for more than half in the total includes 90,000 agricultural seasonal or temporary workers, most of which can't be really considered as modern-type wage-earners.
 (3) This number includes 32,240 agricultural workers (30% of total), see note (2).
 (4) Excluding Soudan in 1957.

Comment : These figures which must be considered as approximations rather than precise data, provide useful indications. They give a good idea of the population employed in activities typical of a modern society. All things considered (see notes (2) and (3) above) they underline the special case of Senegal. They also emphasize the general hypertrophy of the tertiary sector and the poor development of the secondary sector.

Table 23

SENEGAL. WAGE-EARNERS SINCE 1947

Branch of activities	1947	1957	1964	1968
<u>Primary Occupations</u>				
- Agriculture (1), forest	5,652	4,631	4,045	(2)
- Mines	535	1,015	2,546	1,341
<u>Secondary Occupations</u>				
- Factories	25,254	12,554	16,258	14,933
- Buildings, public works		11,555	14,176	8,118
- Electricity, gaz or Energy			2,168	1,874
<u>Tertiary Occupations</u>				
- Trade	[12,038	[20,745	[15,785	12,000
- Banks				1,422
- Public corporations	9,431			
- Transport and communica-	7,914	17,528	15,496	9,866
- Service (private) tion		11,505	12,496	15,000
- Service (public)	11,477	20,737	33,600	60,000 (3)
TOTAL	71,301	100,270	116,570	124,554
<u>Total and % by sector :</u>	Total %	Total %	Total %	Total %
- Primary	6,187 9	5,646 6	6,591 6	1,341 1
- Secondary	24,254 34	24,109 24	32,602 28	24,925 20
- Tertiary	40,860 57	70,515 70	77,377 66	98,288 79

Sources : 1947 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 410.
 1957 : Haut-Commissariat Général à Dakar, 1959, p. 67.
 1964 : Sénégal, Ministère de la Fonction Publique et du Travail, 1965, p. H-5.
 1968 : Sénégal, Troisième plan (1969-1973), 1969, part II, p. 11-29.

(1) Agricultural labourers.

(2) Not available but considered as insignificant in view of the very low number and the seasonal nature of the employment.

(3) Including almost 37,000 civil servants and about 23,000 wage-earners working for public establishments and doing all kind of work.

Comment : To allow comparison, the branch of activities have been slightly re-arranged. As it can be seen while the primary sector has remained weak, the tertiary sector has developed much more than the secondary sector. The diminution in the proportion of secondary workers and the increase in the tertiary sector is principally due to a more thorough evaluation.

number of workers related to crafts (15), the proportion of wage earners represented about 17% of the active population.

Not surprisingly, as most of the services, both private and public, and the major industrial activities are concentrated in the towns and mainly in Dakar (16), there exists a close relationship between wage-labour and urbanisation. For instance over 40% of the civil servants and 65% of the salaried labour (excluding the former) work in the Cap-Vert peninsula and/or in Dakar, while the other are in the remaining major towns, mostly located in the groundnut basin (see figure 22 and 23). Given such a relationship and as urbanisation will be dealt with at length in the next chapter (17), it does not seem necessary to elaborate here on the impact of the emergence of a wage-labour force. Suffice it to say that by giving to the concept of work a new dimension and directly involving a sizeable section of the population in a totally new economic system indifferent to traditional organisation and former political divisions, it was likely from the outset to foster individualism, weaken lineage attachment, create new values

-
- (15) Although traditional craftsmen, their apprentices and employers cannot be classified in the modern sector it must be admitted that they take advantage of the market economy and that the vigor of such a sector is linked to the latter.
 - (16) Still today over 80% of the industries of Senegal are located in the Cap-Vert region.
 - (17) See chapter five, section, 5.2, p. 180 and 183-185.

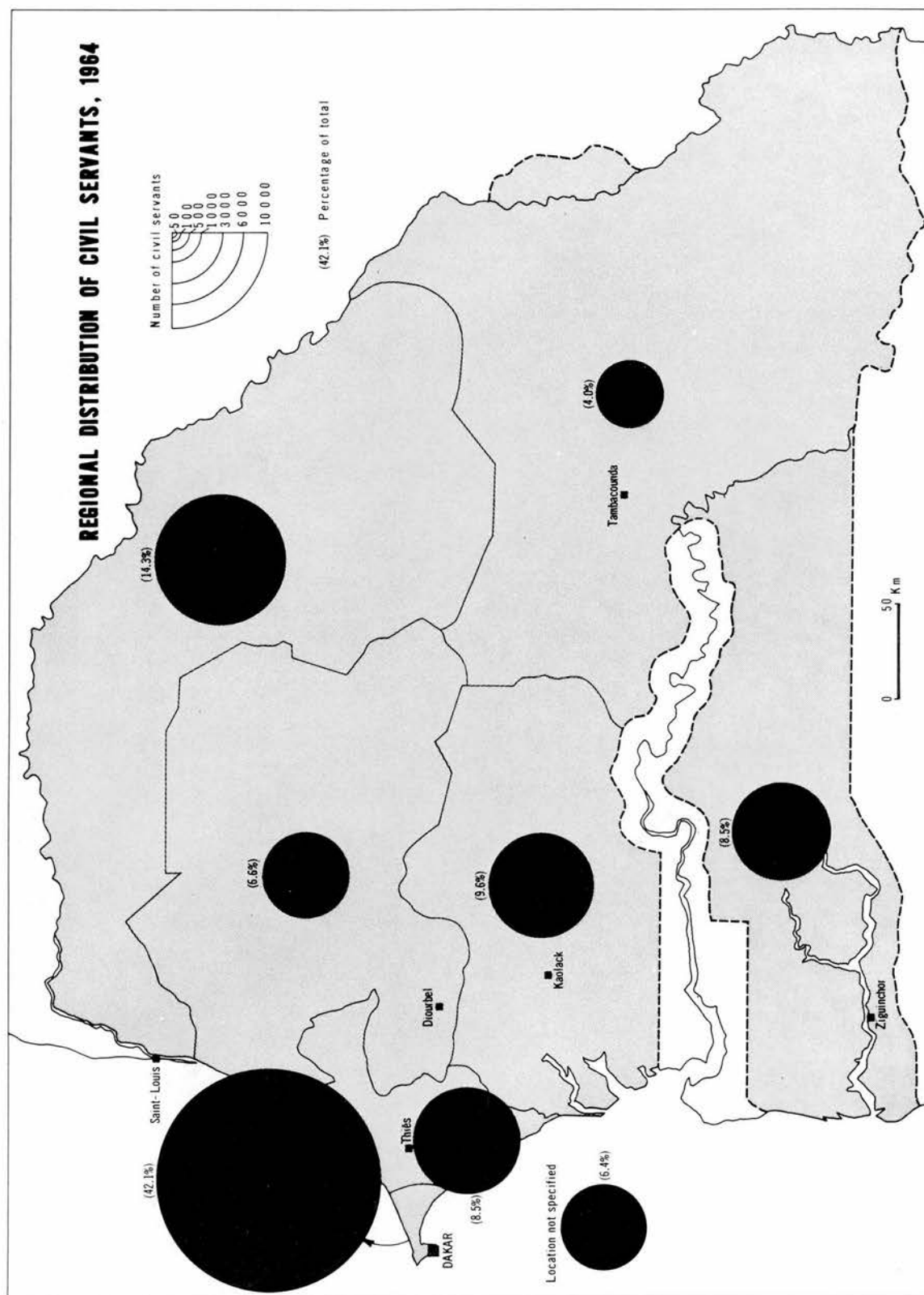


Figure 22

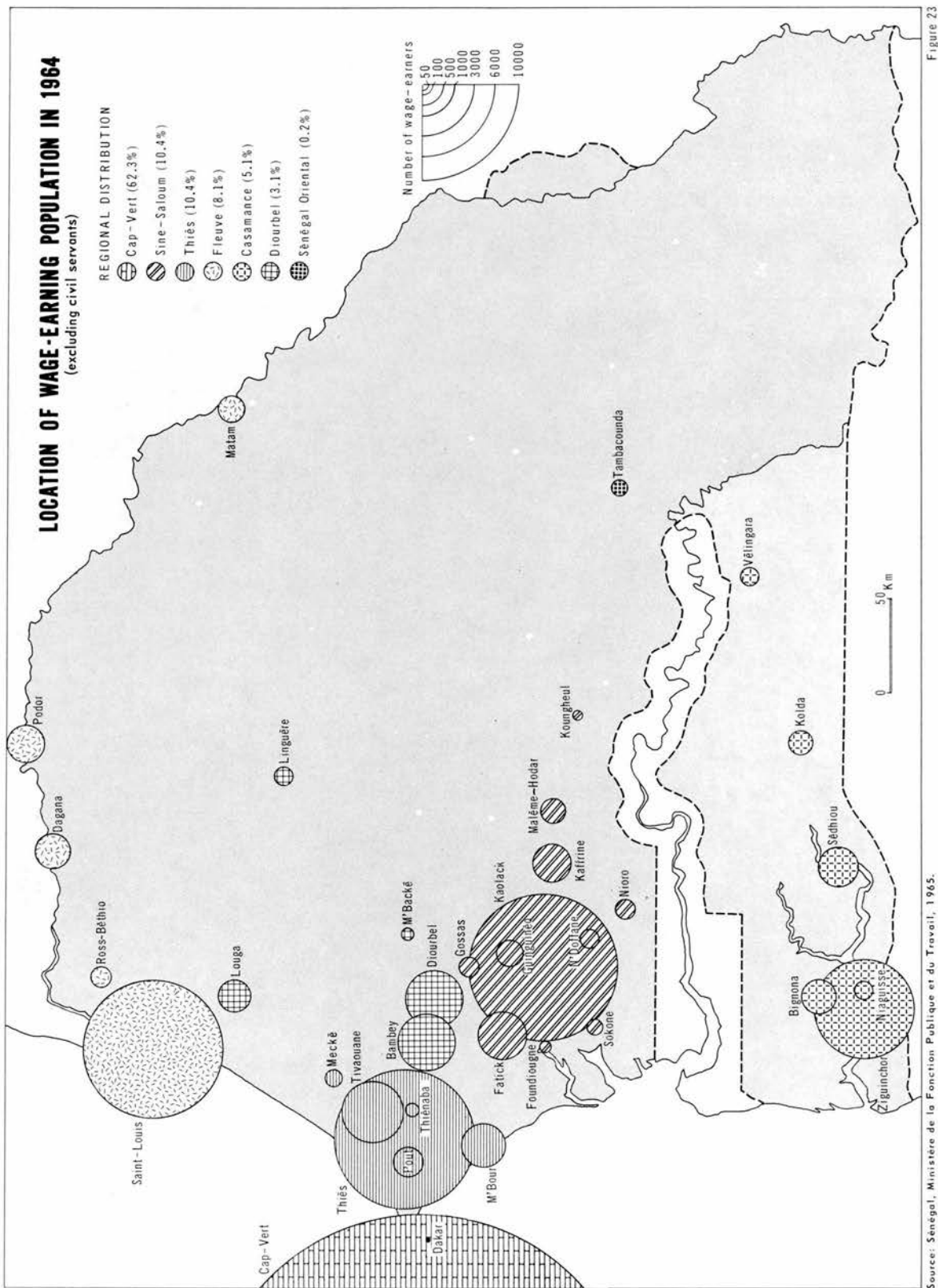


Figure 23

Source: Senegal, Ministère de la Fonction Publique et du Travail, 1965.

and expand in the mind of the population the scale of the community. This is a conclusion Fougeyrollas draws from his survey on the industrial wage-earners of Dakar and Thiès (18).

(18) Fougéyrollas, P., 1967.

CHAPTER FIVE

URBANISATION

5.1 Urban development in Senegal.

Modernisation in Senegal is often closely associated with urbanisation. This is easy to understand as this process, whose effects reinforced, and were reinforced by, assimilation, came into operation earlier and was more intense in Senegal than in any other French colony in tropical Africa.

The 1960-1961 demographic survey revealed the existence in Senegal of 19 agglomerations of more than 5,000 inhabitants, embracing over 770,000 persons. If the population of the Cap-Vert peninsula surrounding Dakar and Rufisque is added to that, the total amounted to nearly 800,000 and represented a little more than 25% of the entire population of the new state. What is more important, 10 of the 19 towns counted more than 10,000 inhabitants and no less than five some 50,000 or more. Kaolack and Thiès, for instance, numbered approximately 70,000 and Dakar alone nearly 400,000. This meant that 92% of the urban population lived in centers of more than 10,000 inhabitants, 89%

in centers of about 50,000 or more, and over 50% in Dakar itself. As a consequence if, following Verrière (1) for instance, "urban" is restricted to the population of centers whose combined size and differentiation of activities were characteristic of towns - that is the Cap-Vert peninsula (mainly Dakar and Rufisque-Bargny) and the six other centers counting 16,000 or more - the absolute figure is 705,000 and the proportion is 22.7% (see table 24 and figure 24).

By Western standards these figures and percentages may seem quite low but by African standards they were exceptionally high. As a matter of fact, Senegal was in 1960 one of the most urbanised country in Tropical Africa (see table 25) and among the former A.O.F. territories it really was an exception. In 1956 for instance, with 22% of its population in towns of 5,000 or more as against 8% for the whole of the federation, it counted a third of the urban population of French West Africa. Moreover if only the population who lived in centers of over 10,000 is taken into account this percentage went up to nearly 40%, and this although the total population of the country represented hardly 12% of the entire population of A.O.F. (see table 26). These proportion were even larger at earlier dates. Half a century earlier, in 1910, Senegal

(1) Verrière, L., 1965, p. 39-40.

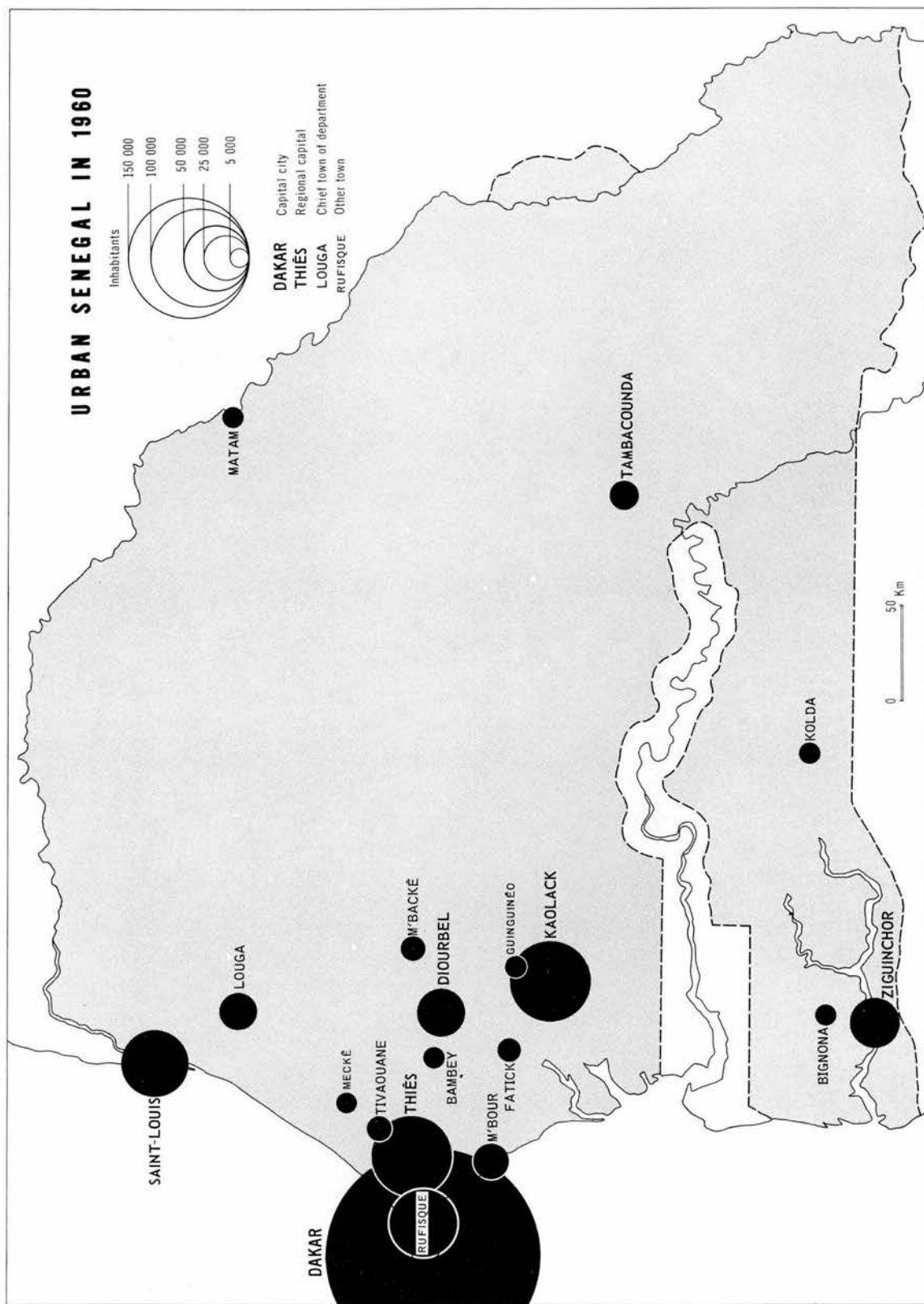


Figure 24

Source: see table 24.

Table 24

URBAN POPULATION, 1960 - 1961

Dakar	395,000 (1)			
Kaolack	69,500			
Thiès	69,140			
		Total:		
Rufisque-Bargny	49,660	705,000		
			Total:	
Saint-Louis	48,840	% of ur- ban pop.: 89.2	731,463	
Ziguinchor	29,840		% of urban pop.: 92.6	
Diourbel	28,560	% of to- tal pop.: 22.7		
			% of total pop.: 23.5	
Louga	16,280			
M'Bour	15,985			Total : 790,000
Tambacounda	10,478			
Tivavouane	7,900			% of urban pop.: 100
M'Backé	7,353			% of total pop.: 25.4
Fatick	7,198			
Guinguineo	6,634			
Kolda	6,050			
Matam	6,000			
Bambey	5,998			
Mecké	5,587			
Bignona	5,432			

Source: Lombard, J., 1963, p. 133.

(1) It includes with the exception of Rufisque-Bargny the whole Cap-Vert region.

Table 25

PERCENT OF URBAN POPULATION OF SELECTED COUNTRIES
IN TROPICAL AFRICA

Countries	Year	% of urban population
Angola	1960	9.8
Cameroun	1963-1964	15.5
Chad	1962-1963	8.3
Dahomey	1965	15.8
Ghana	1960	23.8
Ivory Coast	1967	22.0
Kenya	1962	7.8
Madagascar	1964	13.0
Malawi	1966	3.8
Niger	1968	3.3
Nigeria	1967	17.0
Senegal	1960	24.0
Sierra Leone	1963	12.7
Togo	1966	19.5
Uganda	1959	3.3
Upper Volta	1966	6.5
Zambia	1966	20.5

Source : Hance, W. A., 1970, p. 223 and 228.

Table 26

A.O.F. URBAN POPULATION IN 1956

Colonies	Urban population (1)			Total population	
	in 000	% in relation to A.O.F. urban pop.	% in relation to each colony's total pop.	in 000	% in relation to A.O.F. total pop.
Sénégal	498	33.2	22.2	2,230	11.9
Mauritanie	14	0.9	2.3	616	3.3
Soudan	195	13.0	5.4	3,643	19.4
Guinée	173	11.5	6.9	2,507	13.4
Côte d'Ivoire	279	18.6	11.2	2,482	13.2
Haute-Volta	132	8.8	4.0	3,326	17.7
Dahomey	157	10.5	9.7	1,615	8.6
Niger	53	3.5	2.3	2,336	12.5
A.O.F.	1,501	100.0	8.0	18,755	100.0

Source : Haut-Commissariat Général à Dakar, 1959a, p. 5, 8, 13.

(1) That is the population living in centers of 5,000 or more.

counted more than 40% of the population living in centers of over 5,000 in A.O.F. and, more significantly, nearly 60% of the population living in towns of over 10,000 (see table 27). And towards the end of the last century, at a time when the town in the modern sense of the word hardly exists at all in A.O.F. and indeed in West Africa, Senegal could claim three real urban centers governed under European principles : Dakar, Saint-Louis and Rufisque.

Considering the post-independence period, the rate of urbanisation has reached about 27% in 1965 and 30% in 1970 and will reach nearly 45% in 1980 (2). Dakar alone has an annual rate of growth of about 7% and at such a rate its population, which doubles every twelve years, is likely to reach over 1,250,000 in 1980, or 25% of the total population.

On the other hand, in the pre-colonial period towns did not really exist in Senegal. There was neither a caravan center like Kano, Gao or Djenné, nor agglomerations of the Yorubaland type. The village was the basic unit of social life and the main clusters of population were centers of court life where most of the inhabitants were still

(2) Sénégal, Troisième Plan (1969-1973), 1969, part II, p. 3.

Table 27

URBANISATION IN A.O.F. AND IN SENEGAL
IN 1910, 1931, 1955

Years	A.O.F.		SENEGAL		
	000	% of total pop.	000	% of total pop.	% of A.O.F. urban pop.
1910 a) (1)	145.6	1.3	59.5	5.1	40.8
b) (2)	101.9	1.0	59.5	5.1	58.9
1931 a) (1)	402.9	2.8	144.4	8.8	35.9
b) (2)	291.3	2.0	138.8	8.5	47.6
1955 a) (1)	1347.9	7.2	493.4	22.2	36.6
b) (2)	1136.1	6.6	452.4	20.5	39.8

Source : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 79, 81, 82, 87. Idem., 1956, p. 45, 60.

- (1) Population living in centers of 5,000 or more.
(2) Population living in centers of 10,000 or more.

farmers and the pattern of relationships was based on ethnic affiliation. With reference to that it is note-worthy to mention that still in 1960 the rural population was scattered in some 13,000 villages whose size scarcely amounted to 1,000 and generally averaged between 300 and 600 in some regions and below 100 in other regions.

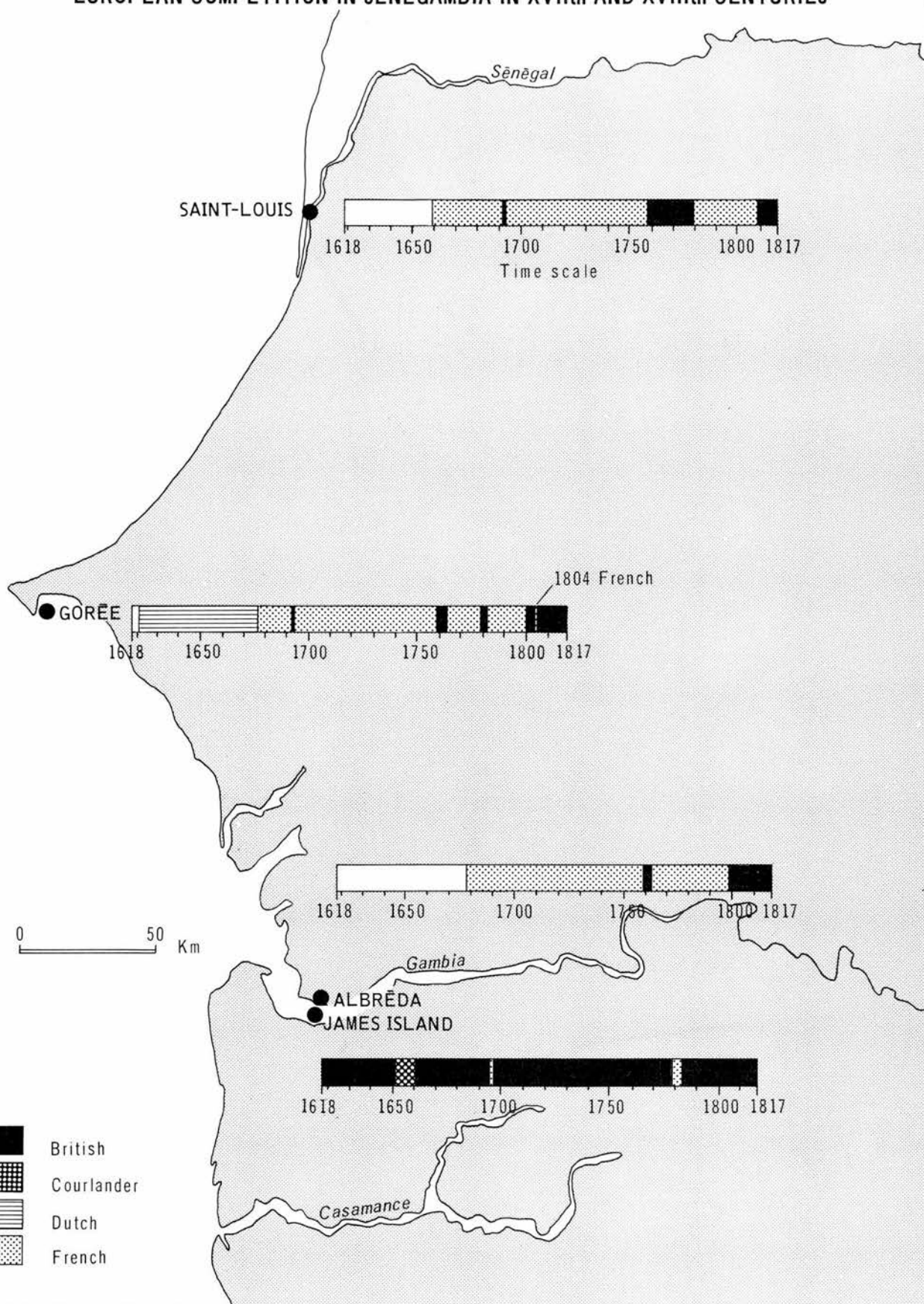
Thus urbanisation is in Senegal a recent phenomenon whose roots must be sought within its colonial experience. Among them two, geographical in character, seem to stand out : the location and the particular economic development of this colony.

Among centers whose fortune was primarily associated with location, one can range Saint-Louis, Dakar and Rufisque. Due to its position in relation to Europe - that is just South of the Sahara and bordering the East Atlantic - the Coast of Senegal was known to the European navigators from the outset of the era of the Great Discoveries and soon certain of its sites became of major interest to the maritime powers. As early as the 17th century, establishments were found on Gorée, and N'dar island in the mouth of the Senegal : the former as a privileged port of call on the South Route and a main stage on the slave journey to the New World, the latter as a difficult but well protected

mooring place commanding the access to the Senegal river, then a main way of penetration and an area frequently visited by traders. Figure 25 shows the interest the maritime powers took in controlling the key positions of the Senegambian coast during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. In this respect it may be of interest to note that Senegal and the Gambia were respectively the first French and British colonies in Tropical Africa (see figure 25). In the beginning these establishments remained mere posts, but they eventually developed into urban like centers gathering Africans and Europeans alike (3). Gorée for instance counted 5,000 inhabitants in 1832 and Saint-Louis about 15,000 in the 1860s. Although the size of the island and the abolition of the slave trade impeded the development of Gorée and indeed caused its decline, French action on the mainland futhered the growth of Saint-Louis and was at the origin of Dakar and Rufisque. In 1900 the old Saint-Louis, as the capital of both Senegal and the newly born A.O.F., played a leading political, military and administrative role ; Dakar, founded in 1857 and linked to Saint-Louis by railway since 1885, had become a main center of European activities ; and finally Rufisque, an old meeting place between Europeans and Wolof situated at the end of the caravan routes, was a very active groundnut port. Thus Senegal as early as the end of

(3) See chapter 3, p. 83-85.

EUROPEAN COMPETITION IN SENEGAMBIA IN XVIIth AND XVIIIth CENTURIES



Various sources.

Figure 25

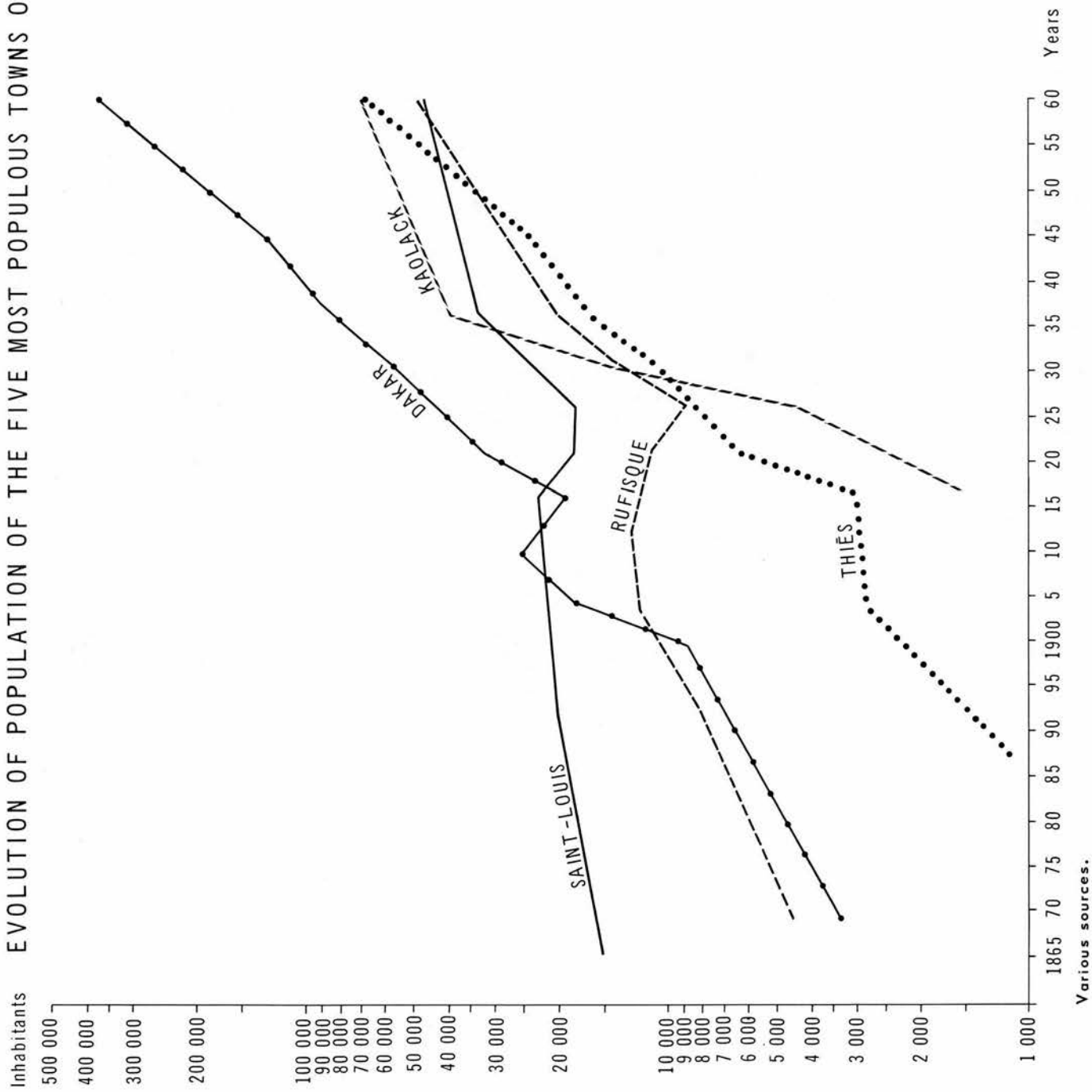
the last century counted three harbour cities meaningfully qualified by Governor General Roume in 1904 as " les portes d'entrée principales du Sénégal et de l'hinterland soudanais et nigérien " (4). A description which pointedly stressed their main function as ' trait d'union ' between France and Soudanian West Africa.

After its nomination as the capital of the A.O.F. (1902), the development of the railway network and the improvement of its harbour facilities, Dakar soon outranked Saint-Louis and Rufisque. However, although on a lesser scale, Saint-Louis and Rufisque, strong in their past, continued to grow and remained urban centers of importance (see figure 26).

On the other hand, Kaolack and Thiès owed their existence primarily to the internal economic development of Senegal. Both situated in the groundnut basin, their origin was directly associated with the revolution in agriculture and transportation that began in the second half of the 19th century. At the head of the Saloum estuary and in the middle of a productive agricultural area, Kaolack became a port mainly dependent on groundnuts. Along with the expansion of this crop in the area it grew as the groundnut capital and as the major interior port of

(4) Quoted in Camara, C., 1968, p. 104.

EVOLUTION OF POPULATION OF THE FIVE MOST POPULOUS TOWNS OF SENEGAL



Various sources.

Years

Figure 26

Senegal. It is today, with a population of over 80,000 inhabitants, the capital of a populous region producing nearly 50% of the total groundnut output of the country. Thiès mainly owed its fortune to the establishment in Senegal of modern means of communication, namely the railways. Its situation in the groundnut basin and at the very junction of the two main railway lines attracted commerce from an early date. As soon as 1890 it exported 20,000 tons of groundnuts. Today, with a population of over 75,000, it is the third most populous town of Senegal and the capital of a basic administrative region (see figure 26).

In so far as the introduction of modern transportation and commercial agriculture cannot be dissociated from European action in the area, it is impossible to deny a relationship between location and development. In distinguishing, for instance, between two towns like Saint-Louis and Thiès, the intention is not to deny such a relationship but to emphasize the different geographical context within which they originated. To understand, for example, the origin of Saint-Louis one has to refer to Europe and West Africa, whereas in the case of Thiès one must evoke more local factors such as the establishment of railways and the introduction of a cash crop.

5.2 The impact of urbanisation.

According to the point of view taken, the African town may be approached quite differently. For the purpose of this study it is primarily seen as a particular environment characterised by its ability 1) to attract people from various backgrounds and traditions, 2) to create among its population new and common values and expectations, and 3) to exercise a dominating influence well beyond its immediate limits.

The ability of the town to attract people from various backgrounds and traditions is illustrated by the heterogeneous composition of the population typical of African towns. Such a feature is perhaps not common to every town but it seems common enough to be presented as characteristic. Indeed heterogeneity is meaningfully encountered in most important cities throughout Tropical Africa. This is certainly the case in Senegal. Dakar, for instance, is a huge melting pot for Africans of various backgrounds and also a privileged place of contact between Europeans and Africans. The 1955 census revealed that no less than 138 African ethnic groups were represented in Dakar. As one might expect the importance of each group varied greatly. However as many as 6 of them - those which form the bulk of

the population in the rest of the country - represented 5% or more of the African population. Moreover the data available indicate that such a diversity is a continuing feature since at least the beginning of this century (see tables 28 and 29). Dakar is in Senegal the obvious case to choose to make the point ; but this is by no means an exception and censuses carried out in towns of much lesser importance also emphasize the ethnic heterogeneity that characterises most Senegalese urban centers, for instance Bambey, Diourbel, Thiès and Ziguinchor (see table 30).

The European population in West Africa was never evenly distributed. Soon after the abolition of slavery, it was decided to establish a colony of settlement in Senegal, and in March 1817 a group of 200 metropolitan settlers was sent to the Cap-Vert peninsula. But this first, and the following, attempts failed and the idea was promptly put aside. Senegal however kept a particular place in the eyes of the French, and Europeans came in greater number than to any other colony in Tropical Africa. Within A.O.F., for instance, Senegal could always claim between 50 and 60% of the non-African population, that is nearly 5,000, 13,000 and 22,000 in 1910, 1931 and 1945 respectively and over 50,000 in the late 1950s. Furthermore, throughout this whole period, over 80% of this population was established in urban centers, especially in Dakar. Several figures stress

Table 28

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF DAKAR AT DIFFERENT TIMES

Years Ethnic groups				
	1926	1931	1936	1941
Wolof	11,757	16,839	37,898	40,000
Lébou	9,805	8,513	13,920	16,250
Sérér			394	500
Diola (1)			134	150
Toucouleur	3,531	5,713	12,356	13,980
Peul			713	850
Manding (2)	3,550	10,564	13,041	15,570
Moors		903	1,508	1,800
Cap-Verdians	1,240	1,291	1,494	1,998
Other Africans	7,111	3,177	3,482	6,201
Total	36,794	47,000	85,000	97,289

Source : Martin, V., 1962, Tableaux statistiques, p. 3.

(1) Includes the Mancagne and Mandjack also native of Lower Casamance.

(2) Includes other Mande groups such as the Sarakolé and the Bambara.

Table 29

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF DAKAR IN 1955

ETHNIC GROUPS	NUMBER	%
Wolof	87,265	43.46
Lébou	23,984	11.94
Sérér	12,060	6.0
Diola (1)	5,338	2.65
Toucouleur	24,863	12.38
Peul	11,312	5.63
Manding (2)	18,877	9.40
Moors	5,455	2.71
Cap-Verdians	3,542	1.76
Other Africans	8,084	4.02

Source : Martin, V., Tableaux statistiques, p. 3 .

(1) Includes other Lower Casamance groups such as the Mancagne, the Mandjack.

(2) Includes other Mande groups such as the Sarakolé, the Bambara.

Table 30

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF FOUR TOWNS IN SENEGAL

TOWNS (1) ETHNIC GROUPS	Bambey		Diourbel		Thiès		Ziguinchor	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Wolof	4,196	59.2	10,661	75		65.5	2,492	16
Lébou	42	0.7						
Sérér	84	13.3	839	6		5.1	441	3
Diola (2)	27	0.5	21				6,499	42
Toucouleur	331	5.5	1,305	9		9.3	540	4
Peul	188	3.1	465	3		3	1,169	7
Manding (3)	137	2.3	465	3		8.6	3,684	23
Moors	202	3.4	426	3		2.4	58	
Other Africans	53	0.9	74	0.5				
Europeans and assimilated	85 (4)	1.4	555		1,995		407	

Sources : Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement, 1966. Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1952. Idem 1953, 1953a and 1956.

- (1) The choice of these towns was dictated by the availability of data.
- (2) Includes other Lower Casamance groups such as the Mancagne, the Mandjack.
- (3) Includes other Mande groups such as the Sarakolé, the Bambara.
- (4) Includes 71 Lebanese.

the exceptional situation of Senegal and the particular case of Dakar in this respect (see table 31 and 32).

As contact is usually seen as a positive step towards compatibility, it may rightly be assumed that the town as a meeting place favours integration. However this is by no means the only and the main relevant asset of the town. In fact, the town as a particular environment has a decisive integrative influence of its own on its population. Its close contacts with the modern world and the freedom it gives from the confines of tradition favour the breakdown of tribal mores and foster the adoption of new ideas and attitudes. The mode of livelihood it offers - a complex division of labour and a wage system which ignores traditional social and family structures - encourages individualism. The type of society it proposes - a secular collectivity where political, economic and academic achievements in the modern sense are the main source of power, prestige and status - raises up new interests and values which tend to cross and/or transcend former ethnic and social barriers. In short, the town reveals itself not only as a meeting place but, and most importantly, as the seat of a type of social organisation which tends by its very nature to sublimate ethnic affiliation and traditional social structures and proposes a new pattern of relationships typical of a large scale society. In other words, the town progressively dissociates

Table 31

EUROPEANS AND ASSIMILATED IN A.O.F. AND IN SENEGAL
BETWEEN 1910 AND 1945 (1).

YEARS	A.O.F.	SENEGAL	
	Number	Number	% of A.O.F.
1910	8,752	4,875	55.7
1916	7,651	4,113	53.8
1926	16,005	7,856	49.1
1931	21,088	12,656	60.0
1936	24,798	13,269	53.5
1945	36,356	21,776	59.9

Source : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 79, 80, 81.

(1) The term " Assimilated " refers mainly to Lebanese and Syrians and does not include the African French citizens.

Table 32

EUROPEANS AND ASSIMILATED IN SENEGAL
BETWEEN 1910 AND 1945 (1)

Years	Total	in towns (2)		In Dakar		
		Number	% of total	Number	% of those living in towns	% of total population
1910	4,875	3,996	82.0	2,383	59.6	9.6
1916	4,113	3,505	85.2	1,732	49.4	8.7
1926	7,856	6,226	79.3	3,196	51.3	8.0
1931	12,656			6,559		12.1
1936	13,269	11,050	83.3	6,508	58.9	7.1
1945	21,776	19,364	88.9	14,300	65.7 (3)	8.9

Sources : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1950, p. 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89 and Martin, V., 1962, Tableaux statistiques, p. 3.

- (1) The term assimilated refers principally to Lebanese and Syrians and does not include the African French citizens.
- (2) That is in the main towns of Senegal according to the sources.
- (3) Nowadays the non African population (about 30,000 European and 15,000 Lebano-Syrians) lives mainly in Dakar.

its dwellers from their traditional context and concomitantly integrates them in a new kind of association. Bearing in mind studies such as Banton's (5). Little's (6) and Mitchell's (7) on African towns, it could be argued that urban impact should be interpreted quite differently. This should be the case in particular instances, but the fact remains that the tribal unions of East African towns or those of West African towns do not weaken the above argumentation. These unions or voluntary associations may certainly contribute to safeguard a certain ethnic based solidarity and to delay the disappearance of some distinctive characteristics. But, they do not seem to prevent the disintegration of the ethnic group as the basic frame of reference. In most instances, an urban Ibo is likely to be closer to an urban Yorubo than he is to a rural congener, even if he is a member of a Ibo union in Lagos.

As far as Senegal is concerned there exists no comprehensive study on the subject. However, it is possible to find case studies which are related to the subject and consequently provide meaningful evidence.

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- (5) Banton, M., 1960.
 - (6) Little, K., 1965.
 - (7) Mitchell, J. C., 1969.

Diop in his book on the Toucouleur approached the question. In this particular study, centered on the phenomenon of Toucouleur migration to Dakar, the changing effects of a life in an urban milieu come out in several chapters. Moreover, Diop in his final chapter notes the key role of matrimonial customs in Toucouleur traditional society (its close relationships with social structure, economy and power) and then he underlines their deep transformations among the Toucouleur urban migrants. Finally in the conclusion of this detailed research he writes : " ... une sédentarisation de plus en plus poussée apparaît. Elle favorise une lente mais sure désagrégation des structures sociales ... ; il y a aussi une évolution inéluctable de la famille vers le ménage. Les sédentarisés se détachent des groupements ethniques, et s'isolent, pour devenir des citadins comme les autres " (8).

And Fougéyrollas in his work on the modernisation of men in Senegal, demonstrates that the industrial worker in both the cities of Dakar and Thiès is going through a decisive and rapid transformation of his mentality which reflects an adaptation to a modern and/or national society (9). Interestingly enough the study also reveals numerous

(8) Diop, A. B., 1965, p. 207.

(9) It is perhaps worth recalling here, as suggested in the introduction of Part Three, that for Fougéyrollas the national state is first of all the product of the industrial society.

differences between the behaviours, attitudes and beliefs of the Dakar and Thiès worker. These differences in degree rather than in kind do not express an opposition in the nature of the changes in question but rather a disparity in the frequency of their occurrence as they prove to be more frequently manifest in Dakar than in Thiès. This leads the author, first to distinguish as factors of modernisation between participation in industrial activity and close contacts with Western cultural models, and secondly to give to Dakar, where both these factors play a dominant part, a major role in the process of integration in Senegal :

" ... Dakar, c'est aussi l'agglomération où les migrants saisonniers, temporaires et définitifs, provenant des diverses ethnies du Sénégal et des pays voisins, se côtoient, se mêlent et forment une société nouvelle.

En Casamance, l'on est encore souvent Diola ou Ma-linké ; dans la région du fleuve Sénégal, l'on demeure très fréquemment Toucouleur. A Dakar, l'on devient Sénégalais ... Comparée à celle de Thiès, l'agglomération dakaroise nous est apparue comme très ouverte aux influences extérieures. En dépit de cette ouverture, et, à cause d'elle, Dakar effective dans ses divers milieux sociaux, les synthèses génératrices de la nation sénégalaise " (10).

(10) Fougeyrollas, P., 1967, p. 227-228.

Dakar, as already seen, is in Senegal a major point of attraction for Europeans. Because of that, but also because of its cosmopolitan functions as an international port and airport whose influence and attraction go well beyond the limits of Senegal, it has developed into a European as well as an African city with social, cultural and general economic amenities worthy of most modern cities. Nothing is more evident in the residential and administrative quarter of the " Plateau " where are found, in addition to imposing buildings, air conditioned cinemas showing the most recent movies, international banks, offices of international maritime and airline companies, hotels, restaurants and cafés offering Western comfort, food and drinks, and finally shops and boutiques displaying sophisticated goods from the transistor radio to the most delicate perfumes and the most fashionable suits.

Finally the town in Africa is also characterised by the influence it exercises in the rest of the country. This influence is mainly based on two major facts : first, the primary, if not the exclusive, role the town plays as a dominant force in national politics and secondly, the close ties which exist between the urban and the rural dweller.

Due to its nature as a center of tertiary activities with the technological means necessary for effective

organisation and its unrivalled attraction for the modern elite, the town, and especially the capital city, dominates politics in Africa. For the purpose of this study the interest of such a phenomenon resides in the most important fact that the basic positions underlying any political programme reflect primarily the beliefs of an elite and a part of the population whose values and interests have been deeply transformed by close relations with Western cultural models and a decisive urban experience. The best and most relevant example is the pursuit of national unity : an idea and a fundamental political position which was born in the city and still draws its force from it but yet forms the corner stone of every constitution and is proposed again and again as the ultimate goal to every citizen of the new state, urban or rural.

In Senegal, Dakar, as the residence of the power elite and the most westernised section of the population, has undoubtedly played and still plays a dominant national role. It is here that were born the independence movement and the national political parties. It is here that the ' Bloc Populaire Sénégalais ' (B.P.S.) with its primary appeal to rural masses found its origin, and Senghor, its founder, was essentially a town dweller. Since independence, it is in Dakar - the capital city of welfare state whose

main concerns do not only embrace the maintenance of law and order but also the economic and social development of the entire country - that the ideology of national unity is given an articulate meaning and are elaborated the development schemes meant at the same time to modernise the economy and create a cohesive Senegalese entity. This role is yet furthered by the outstanding position this capital holds even among other important urban centers like Kaolack, Thiès and Saint-Louis. Dakar in Senegal has no rival and dominates in every realm. In addition to being the most populous and westernised town and the capital city, it is also the ultimate political, economic and cultural focal point of the country. It houses the bureaucracies and both the legislative and executive institutions of the Republic, the head office of the labour unions and political parties, the major industrial plants, the main banking institutions, the head office of the cooperatives and the development corporations, the cultural national institutions such as the National Theatre, the only university of the country and most secondary colleges, the head office of the only two daily newspapers, the nerve center of the two radio networks, and so on.

This situation which permits the effective concentration of political power at one point, undoubtedly acts in Senegal as a centripetal force instrumental to national

integration. In this major task, however, Dakar is assisted by other urban centers which play the important role of relays in the relationships between the state authority and the rest of the territory. During the colonial period secondary towns such as the chief towns of the various administrative divisions ensured a direct link between the capital and its administrative hinterland. Since the 1960 reform, which divided the new state in seven regions, in turn subdivided into departments and "arrondissements", towns set in regional, departmental and "arrondissement" chief towns relay in the same way the authority and influence of Dakar. This they do as administrative centers but also as agents of modernisation. In this respect it is interesting to note that in 1960 the basic administrative divisions - the regions - were drawn up around the most populous cities of the country and 17 out the 19 centers counting over 5,000 were chosen as regional or departmental chief towns as if the idea were to use the urban network to convey to the regional and local levels the capital city message : modernisation and unity.

Finally, the influence of the town in the rest of the country is also due to continuous and important movements of persons from and to the city, and to the close ties which usually exist between the urban dweller and his rural folks.

In Senegal, as in the rest of tropical Africa, the movement of urbanisation is not only due to natural increase but also to a large rural migration. Nothing is more evident, for instance, in the case of the urbanised Cap-Vert Peninsula, where the 1960-1961 demographic survey has revealed that 40% of the population and over 50% of the residents above 14 years of age were born elsewhere (see table 33). Dakar is, and will probably remain, for a time at least, the strongest point of attraction in Senegal, but to judge by the urban growth across the country this is by no means the only urban center to attract rural migrants (see figure 27). A survey in the late 1950s has revealed, for instance, that if Dakar housed nearly half of the Toucouleur migrants, Saint-Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor could also claim a sizeable number (see table 34). One could also cite the example of Bambey where a detailed census, carried out in 1966, revealed that nearly 25% of the population of this small and very ' provincial ' town were born elsewhere (see table 35).

It is widely known fact, on the other hand, that in most cases the peasant leaving a rural village for the town does not regard the latter as a permanent home and keeps close contacts with his homeland where he returns more or less regularly. These contacts are obvious in the case of the seasonal urban dweller who goes to the city during the

Table 33

CAP-VERT. AFRICAN POPULATION ACCORDING TO PLACE
OF BIRTH IN 1960-1961

Population	Born in Cap-Vert		Born outside Cap-Vert		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Less than 14 years	154,780	86	24,580	14	179,320	100
Over 14 years	78,540	36	140,200	64	218,740	100
Total	233,280	59	164,780	41	398,060	100

Source : Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement,
1964, p. 35.

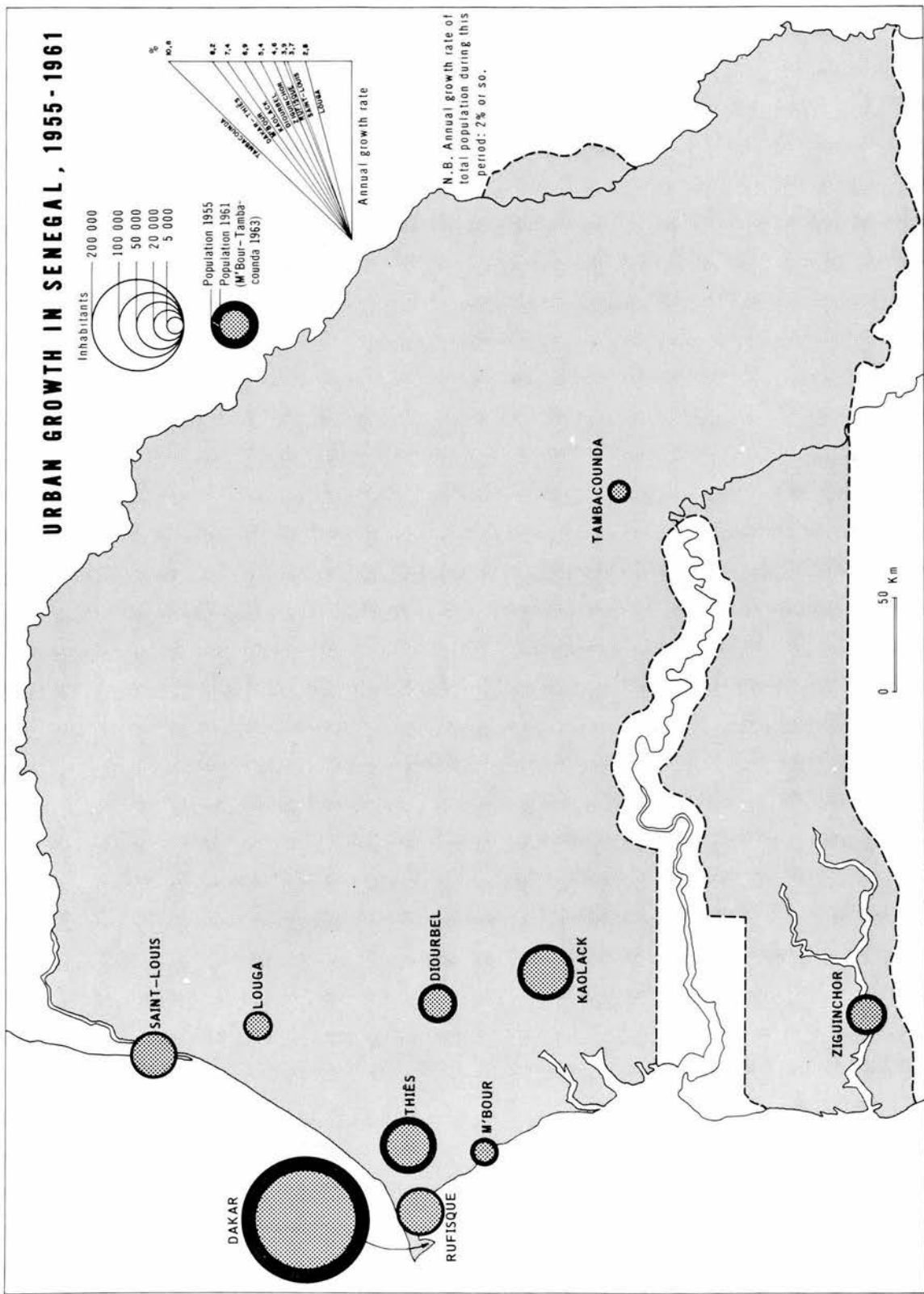


Table 34

TOUCOULEUR BORN IN THE SENEGAL RIVER VALLEY
BUT LIVING IN URBAN CENTERS IN 1958

Residence	Number	Residence	Number
Dakar	31,000	Kaolack	4,000
Saint-Louis	15,000	Diourbel	1,500
Thiès	4,500	Ziguinchor	1,000
Rufisque	4,000		

Source :
Boutillier, J. L., Cantrelle, P., Causse, J., Laurent, C.,
N'Daye, T., 1962, p. 242.

Table 35

POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE BAMBEY
 ACCORDING TO REGION OF BIRTH

Region of Birth	Number
Diourbel	707
Cap-Vert	165
Thiès	152
Fleuve	146
Sine-Saloum	122
Casamance	34
Sénégal Oriental	6
Outside Senegal	85
Total	1,417
%	23.4%

Source : Sénégal, Ministère du Plan et du Développement,
 1966, p. 31.

quiet season to provide his family with cash but returns to his homeland during the crop season. However, close ties also exist in the case of more permanent dwellers who in fact visit their homeland on the occasion of births, weddings and funerals and during their holidays, frequently send money to their family and often return to their village when they are old or have a sufficient income.

There exists in Senegal no comprehensive data on the subject. However, there is no doubt that the movement between rural area and town is a two way movement. Diop, for instance, has demonstrated this beyond any doubt in the case of the Toucouleur living in Dakar. According to the usual distinction between the seasonal, temporary and definitive migrant, both the first and second categories - which in fact imply returns to the country of origin - represented respectively as much as 30% and 50% of the total migrant population (see table 36). No such detailed figures exist for other groups, but every sign seems to indicate that urban migration is in general seasonal or temporary rather than definitive. According to the C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A. report (11) the purely seasonal migration (6 to 8 months in town) involved no less than 50,000 persons in the late colonial period.

(11) C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A., 1960, Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1-1 (39).

Table 36

LENGTH OF STAY OF THE TOUCOULEUR LIVING IN DAKAR

Length of the actual stay	% of migrants
Less than 1 year	42.7
From 1 year to less than 2 years	14.6
From 2 years to less than 3 years	12.1
From 3 years to less than 6 years	11.3
From 6 years to less than 10 years	8.3
10 years and more	11.0

Source : Diop, A. B., 1965, p. 72.

So the rural dweller by migrating to town does not automatically cut himself off from his homeland. On the contrary he keeps contact with his family and return to his village from time to time. And by so doing he constitutes in the words of Coleman " a very significant medium through which modernity is pumped into rural areas " (12). In other words the migrants serve to bring to rural areas new ideas and attitudes. Thomas (13) in his very detailed study on the Diola has noted such a fact and moreover has pinpointed it as a main cause of acculturation in this society. And Fougeryrollas in the conclusion of his study has written :

" ... Lorsque les migrants reviennent dans leurs villages d'origine, ils contribuent, parce qu'ils ont vécu à Dakar, à nationaliser, à sénégaliser des hommes encore enfermés dans les limites de leur communauté villageoise " (14).

Perhaps it is necessary to stress that urbanward migration can also work the other way. The absence of progressive male youth ,for instance , may enable more conservative elements in rural society - elders and wives - to retain, perpetuate and even re-inforce traditional styles and mores. De Wilde suggests this, for example, as one possible reason why the Luo areas of Western Kenya long rejected consolidation

(12) Almond, G. A. and Coleman, J. S. (ed.), 1960, p. 537.

(13) Thomas, L.V., 1959, Vol. 1, p. 324-325.

(14) Fougeryrollas, P., 1967, p. 228.

and individualisation of ownership, which were already so advantageous in other areas of Kenya (15). Only a systematic research on the subject could show if it is the case in certain areas of Senegal.

It is most à propos in concluding this chapter to stress one more point. The effects of urbanisation in Senegal take on an even more acute significance because they have affected the population as a whole regardless of its ethnic composition. As a matter of fact not only one or two but all the main groups were touched by urbanisation : a group like the Wolof, it is true, was more affected but all the others also contributed to urban migration (see table 37). So much is it so that it is no exaggeration to say that in addition to introducing a new element likely to disturb the former equilibrium, urbanisation in affecting all the major groups has also succeeded on spreading on a Senegalese scale, basic and common attitudes instrumental to unification. It is most important for it is well known that certain processes of modernisation, for that matter urbanisation itself, has sometimes contributed to sharpen cultural discontinuities in territories where their progress was too uneven among the different ethnic groups.

(15) De Wilde, J. C., 1967, Vol. II, p. 132.

Table 37

URBANISATION BY ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic groups	% urbanised
Wolof	33
Lébou	89
Sérér	7
Peul	16
Toucouleur	18
Sarakolé	16
Manding	11
Diola	10
Other Casamance groups	14
Moors	41

Source : Martin, V., 1965, p. 69.

Comment : A part from the Lébou and the Moors (Two special cases and two groups which together form no more than 3% of the African population) all the groups are fairly evenly urbanised. There exists a notable difference between the Wolof and the Sérér but it seems that these groups are respectively over and under-represented. Wolof is in Senegal the lingua franca and it appears that several Wolof speakers present themselves as Wolof, especially the Sérér who is islamised and usually speaks Wolof. 80% of the urbanised Sérér are Muslims.

CHAPTER SIX

MODERN EDUCATION

As the main instrument for the creation of an African elite which challenged and eventually displaced the coloniser, and as a very effective carrier of new values among the population in general, modern education has been one of the most revolutionary influences to operate in Tropical Africa. As with other agents of change however, its impact has varied from one territory to another according to potent aspects such as the pattern of its development and the character of the educational system. In Senegal, in particular, the consideration of both the aspects is necessary to understand fully the significance of the changes involved. The understanding of the pattern of development is necessary to appreciate the extent of the impact. But only the understanding of the system can provide a real insight into the nature and intensity of the impact. For this reason discussion is centered upon these two aspects of the question.

6.1 Development of modern education.

Primary education. In spite of an early European

presence in the area, modern education was late to develop in Senegal. There had been some attempts to implant a school organisation during the 19th century, but one must really wait until the beginning of this century to see the emergence of an articulate system capable of reaching a significant section of the population and susceptible to expansion. The colony in 1854 could only claim 4 schools (2 in Saint-Louis and 2 in Gorée) and fewer than 600 pupils. And in 1899, that is after 82 years of continuous French presence, Senegal had under 10 urban schools counting scarcely 2,000 pupils while the rural schools established by Faidherbe some 40 years ago were practically non-existent (1). However, following the organisation of a new system in 1903, there has been a steady improvement. The number of pupils passed from 5,000 or so in the 1910s to nearly 17,000 in 1938, over 100,000 in 1960 and almost 250,000 in 1968, and the rate of attendance, lower than 2% in the 1910s, has gradually increased to reach about 5% in 1938, 19% in 1960 and 37% in 1968. This progress was accompanied by a parallel increase in the facilities. The number of schools went from 50 or so in the 1910s to over 100 in 1938, about 500 in 1960 and over 1,300 in 1968 (see table 38).

(1) Villard, A., 1943, p. 208.

Table 38

EVOLUTION OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND FACILITIES

SINCE 1910

Years	School age population (1)	School population		Schools
		Number	% (1)	
1910	224,300	4,631	2	46
1938	324,000	16,982	5	113
1948	360,000	30,530	8	197
1955	400,000	55,600	14	307
1960	575,500	106,911	19	500
1968	672,800	248,749	37	1,319

Sources : 1910, 1938, 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 81, 83, 84, 94, 95.

1955 : Idem, 1956, p. 73.

1960 : Verrière, L., 1965, p. 84.

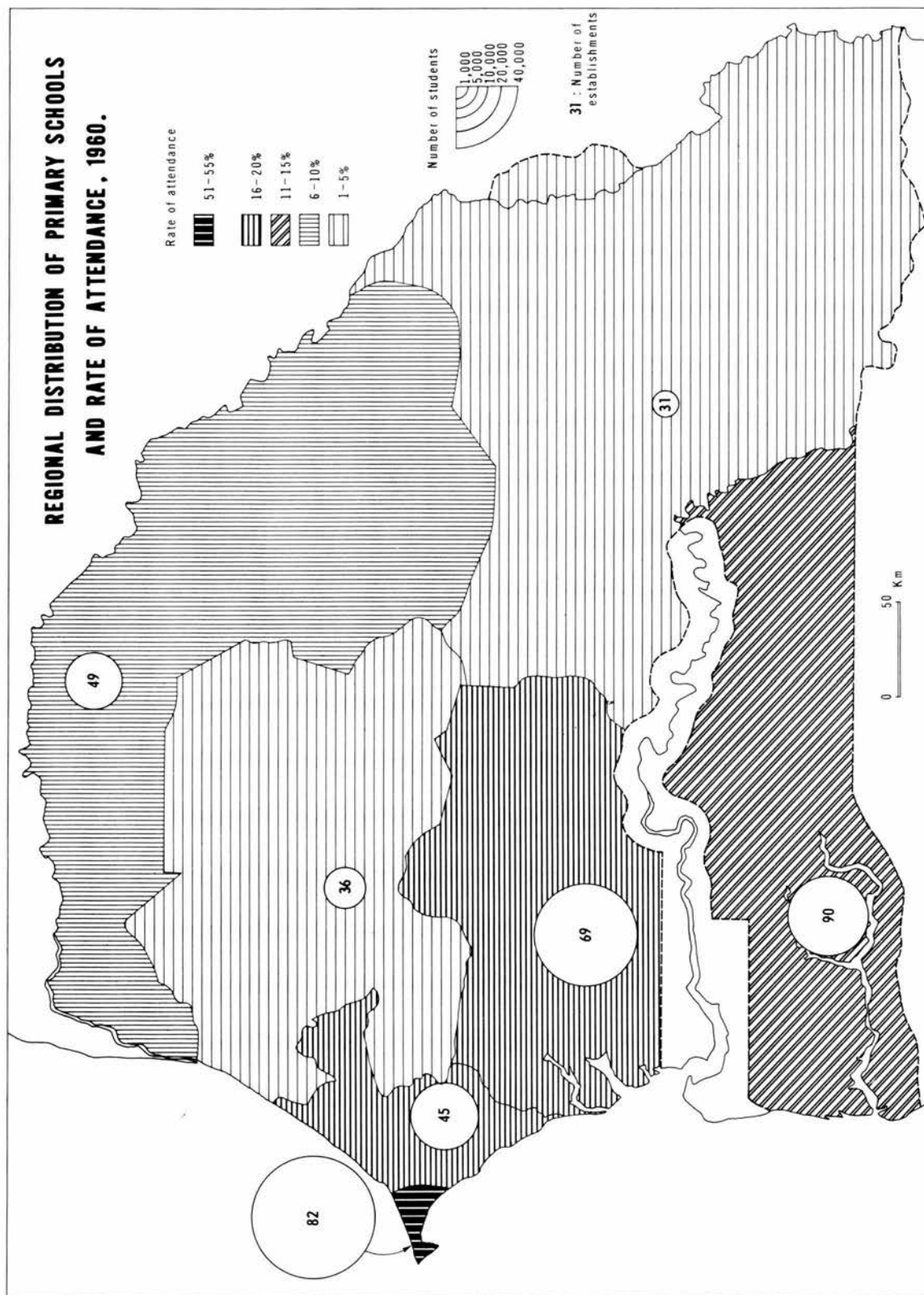
1968 : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, p. 1/20.

- (1) The figures until 1955 are approximations which represent, as is the case today, 18% of the total population. Supposing that the figure of 18% is accurate enough, as the population was under-estimated until 1960, it is more than likely that the school age population was larger and the % of school population lower until 1955.

In the beginning the expansion of the facilities was clearly limited to certain areas. As Hardy noted, the most important schools in the mid-1910s were found, " as one may expect ", in the main towns of Dakar, Saint-Louis and Rufisque, while the others followed the course of the Senegal, Saloum and Casamance rivers and the railway lines Dakar - Saint-Louis and Thiès - Niger. Outside these major lines of penetration there was only one school in the Ferlo near Lingère and two in the Upper Gambia described as : " véritables marches de notre enseignement dans une des provinces les plus arriérées de l'A.O.F. " (2). Later on, the main towns and such areas as the Groundnut basin and Lower Casamance remained privileged but facilities were introduced in less accessible and attractive, but nonetheless populated, regions. On the eve of independence nearly 125 of the 400 public primary schools were located in the main towns but each of the present administrative regions could claim at least 30 establishments. However there still existed strong regional disparities which were clearly reflected in the rate of attendance, which reached over 15% in four regions (among which was Cap-Vert with 53%) but was as low as 4% and 5% in Sénégal Oriental and Diourbel (see table 39 and figure 28). The situation was however greatly improved after independence. Between 1960 and 1968

(2) Hardy, G., 1917, p. 42.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND RATE OF ATTENDANCE, 1960.



Source: see table 39.

Figure 28

Table 39

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

AND RATE OF ATTENDANCE, 1960

Regions	Schools (public)		School age population	School population	
	Number	%		Number	% of school age population
Cap-Vert	82	20.5	77,300	41,000	53
Casamance	90	22.5	107,900	16,600	15
Diourbel	36	9.0	85,100	4,000	5
Fleuve	49	12.0	65,100	6,800	10
Sénégal Oriental	31	9.0	23,900	900	4
Sine-Saloum	69	17.0	135,900	26,900	20
Thiès	45	11.0	80,300	13,400	17
Sénégal	402 (1)	100.0	575,500	109,700	19

Sources : C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A., Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1 (5) 14 and Verrière, L., 1965, p. 84.

- (1) In addition to that there were about 100 private schools more than three quarters of which were located in Casamance, Cap-Vert and Thiès.

the number of schools increased roughly threefold in both S n gal Oriental and Diourbel and, most importantly, the number of pupils increased nearly tenfold in the former and more than quadrupled in the latter. Regional disparity has not dissapeared for all that but if today, Cap-Vert, with almost a third of the pupils, shows a rate of attendance of over 65%, only one region, Diourbel, displays one inferior to 25% (see table 40 and figure 29).

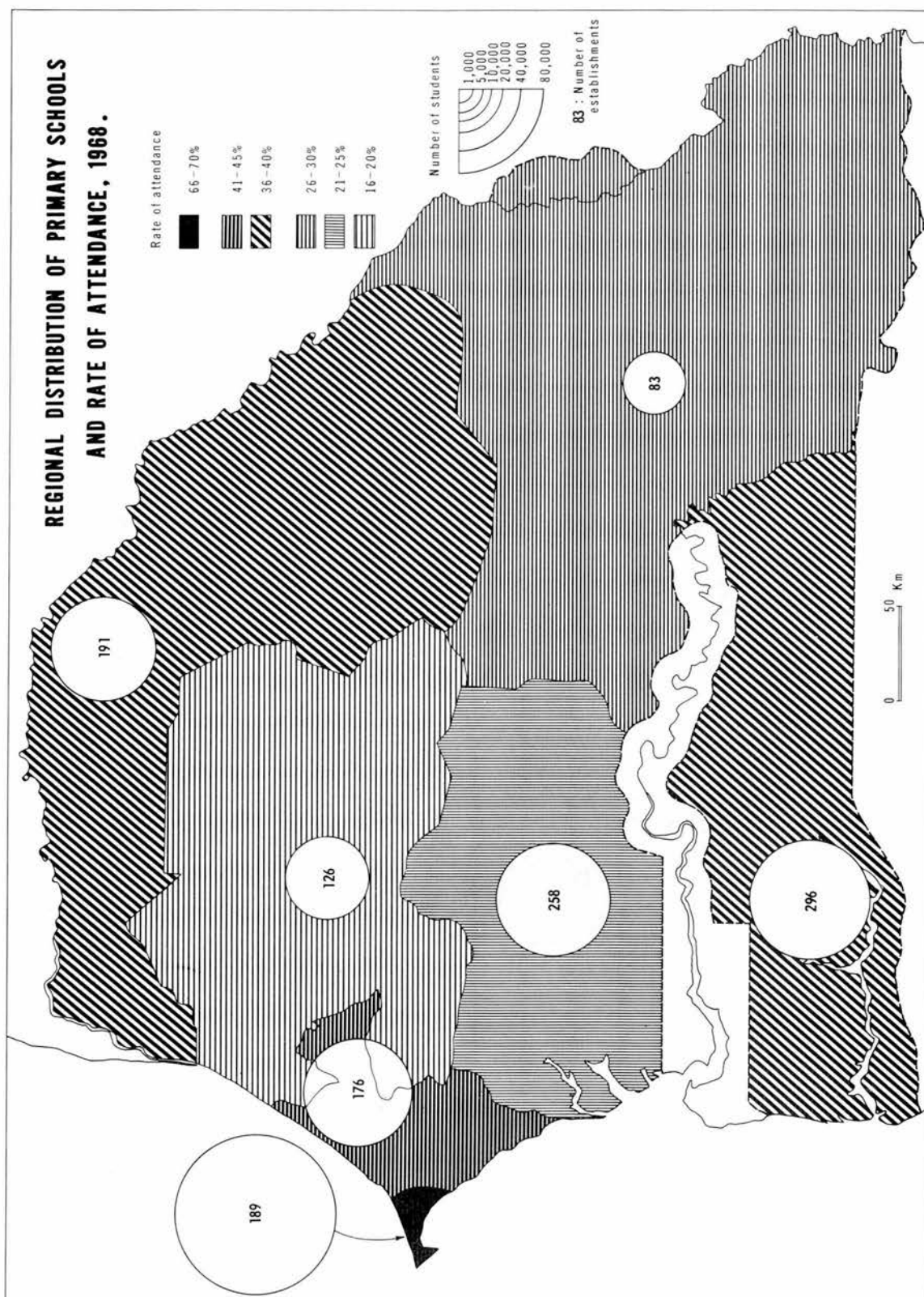
So far, the pupils have been treated as a single body without any mention as to its composition. In fact these pupils were never equally divided between the sexes. In 1968, for example, girls represented only 38% of the total. However notable a difference such a figure may reflect, it nevertheless represented a sizeable improvement to what existed before. As late as 1935 and 1948, for instance, girls only accounted for 12% and 18% (see table 41). The reasons for this seem to be twofold. First, the system of education, in the beginning, was meant to attract a male element, whose education was considered more urgent and necessary to satisfy an employment market mostly reserved to men. Secondly, there was a strong reticence from the Muslims to send their daughters to school, and for a time almost only young Crhistian girls attended. However, with the progress of modern values and the expansion of facilities, such a disparity has gradually decreased. Not

Table 40.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
AND RATE OF ATTENDANCE, 1968

Regions	School age population	School population	% of school age population	Schools
Cap-Vert	119,000	80,660	68	189
Casamance	110,200	40,580	37	296
Diourbel	104,400	18,210	17	126
Fleuve	71,800	28,120	39	191
Sénégal Oriental	31,300	8,190	26	83
Sine-Saloum	151,000	37,400	25	258
Thiès	85,100	35,590	42	176
Sénégal	672,800	248,750	37	1,319

Source : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, p. 1/20 and 1/23.



Source: see table 40.

Figure 29

Table 41

COMPOSITION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL POPULATION
SINCE 1935

Years	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	%	Number	%
1935	14,441	87	2,082	12
1948	25,018	82	5,512	18
1960	70,900	65	38,800	35
1968	155,284	62	93,465	38

Sources : 1935 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937, p. 25, 26.
1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 94, 95.

surprisingly the evolution was more manifest in the urban milieu where facilities were greater but also where the influence of Western cultural models was undoubtedly stronger and the advantages of modern education more evident. Presently, for instance, in the urbanised Cap-Vert region girls account for 45% as against 38% in the country as a whole and 37% or below in any other region (see table 42).

Secondary education. The origin of secondary education also goes back to the 19th century. It began in Saint-Louis in 1850 with the establishment of the Ploermel Brother's school. However, a significant network of schools, meant to reach not only the mulatto population and a few privileged Africans but also a sizeable indigenous clientele, did not emerge before the late 1940s. According to official sources there existed only two secondary public schools in the 1930s, numbering around 600 pupils in 1935 and 1,000 in 1938. The number of schools reached 11 in 1948 but during the same period the number of students scarcely doubled. However, the situation greatly improved in the 1950s and chiefly in the 1960s, and the number of schools and students went up respectively to 18 and 4,400 in 1955, 39 and 8,500 in 1960 and 138 and 38,000 in 1968 (see table 43).

Until 1956 all the establishments were concentrated on the coastal zone, most particularly in Dakar and Saint-

Table 42

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL POPULATION

BY SEX AND REGION, 1968

	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	%	Number	%
Cap-Vert	44,145	55	36,515	45
Casamance	28,708	71	11,872	29
Diourbel	12,432	68	5,778	32
Fleuve	17,766	63	10,354	37
Sénégal Oriental	5,768	70	2,422	30
Sine- Saloum	23,690	63	13,710	37
Thiès	22,772	64	12,818	36
Sénégal	155,285	62	93,465	38

Source : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale,
1969, p. 1/18, 1/19.

Table 43

SECONDARY EDUCATION. EVOLUTION
OF STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS

Years	Students	Schools
1935	662	2
1938	992	2
1948 (1)	2,329	11
1955	4,431	18
1960	8,536	39
1968	38,015	138

Sources : 1935 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937, p. 25, 26.
 1938 : Idem, p. 27, 28.
 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 96.
 1955 : Idem, 1956, p. 73, 74.
 1960 : Dieng, F., 1960, p. 2.
 1968 : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, p. II/22, II/23, III/4, III/11.

(1) Until 1948 the figures only concern the public sector.

Louis, and none could be found in the large area East of the Saint-Louis, Thiès and M'Bour axis, although it represented about 4/5 of the territory and well over half of the population of the colony. Even though this did not mean that recruitment was limited to the North-Eastern coastal area, such an eccentric network clearly neglected several populated areas. There was an attempt in the late 1950s to diminish this all too evident disparity, but a strong regional disequilibrium persisted until the end of the colonial period. In 1960 the regions of Casamance and Sine-Saloum could respectively claim 5 and 3 establishments but no fewer than 31 out of 39 were located in an area North of M'Bour and West of Thiès and Saint-Louis (see table 44). There still exist notable discrepancies. In 1968, for instance, 11 out of the 14 schools providing "deuxième cycle" secondary education (3) were located in Dakar, Saint-Louis and Thiès. However, at the "premier cycle" level (4) every region could claim at least a few establishments and some hundreds students (see table 45 and figure 30).

As to the composition of the student body, the figures dating back to 1935 indicate a constant disequilibrium between the sexes. Until 1950 the proportion of girls, however low, was higher than at the primary level during

-
- (3) That is senior classes leading to the B.A. or the like and then to higher education,
 - (4) Junior classes.

Table 44

DISTRIBUTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1960

Regions	Schools	Location of schools	
Cap-Vert	19	Dakar	16
		Rufisque	3
Casamance	5	Ziguinchor	5
Diourbel	0		
Fleuve	5	Saint-Louis	5
Sénégal Oriental	0		
Sine-Saloum	3	Kaolack	3
Thiès	7	Thiès	5
		M'Bour	2
Total	39		39

Source : Dieng, F., 1960, p. 2.

Table 45

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS
AND STUDENTS, 1968

REGIONS	STUDENTS				SCHOOLS			
	10 c y c l e	20 c y c l e	10 and 20 cycles		10 c y c l e	20 c y c l e	10 and 20 cycles	
			Total	%			Total (1)	%
Cap-Vert	15,308	2,390	17,698	46.6	62	4	62	45
Casamance	2,844	200	3,044	8.0	14	1	14	10
Diourbel	1,333		1,333	3.5	6		6	4
Fleuve	4,232	480	4,712	12.4	16	4	16	12
Sénégal Oriental	436		436	1.1	3		3	2
Sine-Saloum	4,066	334	4,400	11.6	14	1	14	10
Thiès	5,628	764	6,392	16.8	23	4	23	17
Sénégal	33,847	4,168	38,015	100.0	138	14	138	100

Source : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, p. II/22, II/25, III/4, III/11.

(1) As all 20 cycle establishments also dispense 10 cycle teaching the total of schools per region correspond to the number of 10 cycle schools.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS, 1968.

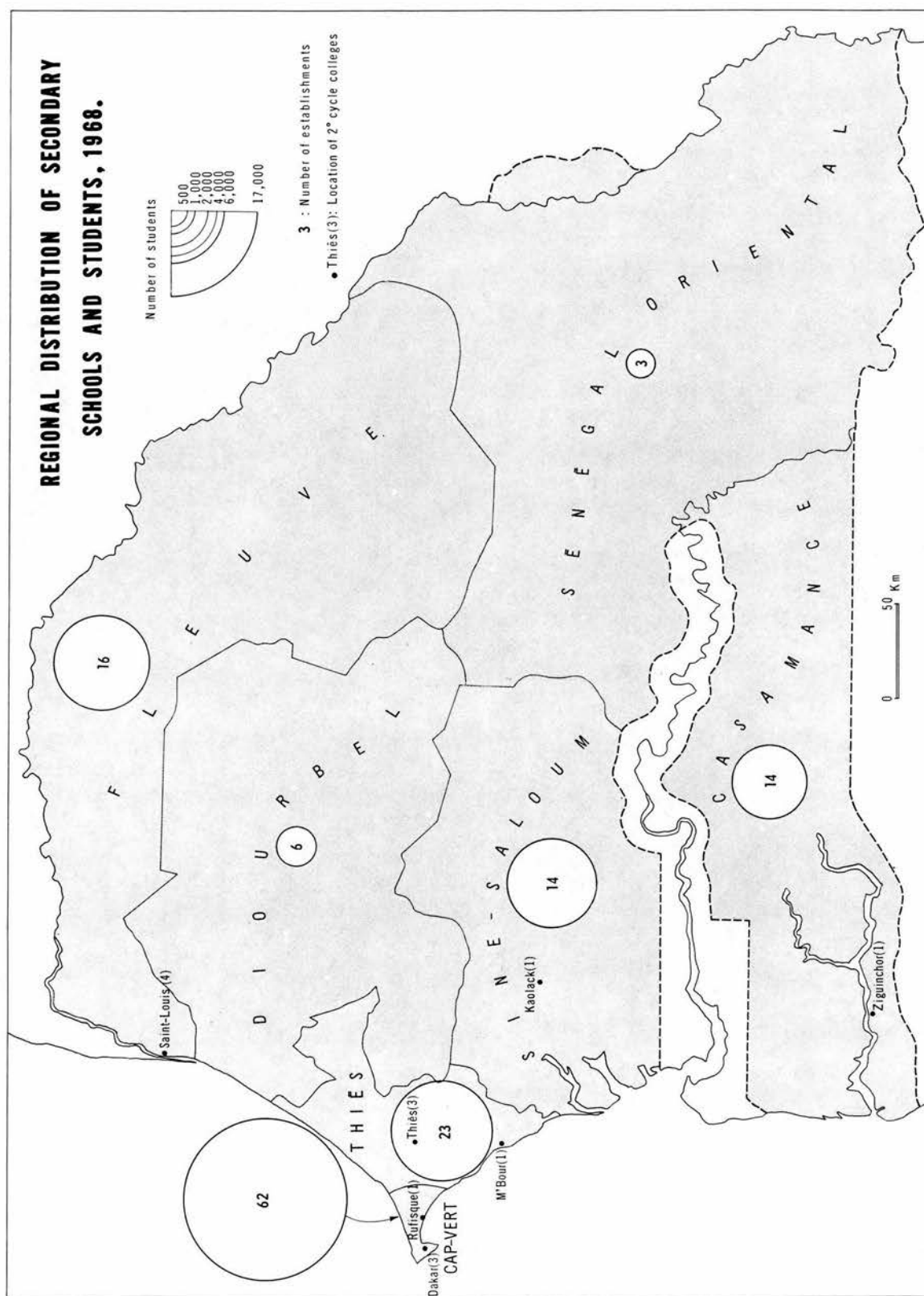


Figure 30

the same period. However, it diminished in the 1950s and ended up at 27% in 1968, that is 10% lower than at the primary level (see table 46). Here again all regions but the Cap-Vert and surprisingly Sénégal Oriental, show a percentage of girls lower than the national average (see table 47).

Technical education. Although the origin of technical education may be traced back to the 19th century, related information is scarce until after 1945. The reason for this seems to be that for a long time, technical education was intimately associated with normal education. This said, the fragmentary information available covering the last decades indicates that technical education as a separate and articulate organisation came late, progressed slowly and developed into a comprehensive system only after independence. As late as 1938 and even 1948, for instance, there existed only very few establishments and a small body of students. In the 1950s the number of schools increased notably but the number of students remained fairly low : 1,800 or so in 1955 and scarcely, 2,000 in 1959. After independence however, following a concerted effort to develop a sector judged vital to economic emancipation, a special ministry was created to promote technical and professional education and to deal with all its aspects. As a result the number of

Table 46

COMPOSITION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION
SINCE 1935

Years	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	%	Number	%
1935	416	66.9	206	33.1
1948	1,458	62.6	871	37.4
1955	3,360	75.8	1,071	24.2
1960	6,446	75.5	2,090	24.5
1968	27,858	73.3	10,157	26.7

Sources : 1935 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937, p. 25, 26.
 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 96.
 1955 : Idem, 1956, p. 73.
 1960 : Dieng, F., 1960, p. 2.
 1968 : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, p. II/20, II/21, III/3, III/11.

Table 47

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY REGION AND SEX, 1948

Regions	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	%	Number	%
Cap-Vert	11,873	67.1	5,825	32.9
Casamance	2,555	83.9	489	16.1
Diourbel	1,019	76.4	314	23.6
Fleuve	3,402	80.4	830	19.6
Sénégal Oriental	305	70.0	131	30.0
Sine-Saloum	3,530	80.2	870	19.8
Thiès	4,755	74.4	1,637	25.6
Sénégal	27,858	73.3	10,157	26.7

Source : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale,
1969, p. II/20, II/21, III/2, III/3, III/11.

establishments greatly increased and the number of students increased fivefold between 1960 and 1968 to reach over 10,000 (see table 48). Cap-Vert profited most from this expansion, and it could claim in 1968 50% of the schools and, most importantly, 75% of the students. However all regions, except S n gal Oriental, had at least some establishments and a few hundred students (see table 49 and figure 31). As to the composition of the student population, fragmentary information available seems to indicate a proportion of nearly 65 males for 35 females.

Higher education. For a long time a sizeable though limited number of Senegalese were able to complete their secondary education and pursue higher studies in France. However, with perhaps the qualified exceptions of both the "Ecole William Ponty" and the "Ecole de M decine Humaine de Dakar", respectively responsible for the production of African teachers and doctors whose qualifications were only recognised locally, higher education did not exist in Senegal before 1950. That year however the "Institut des Hautes Etudes de Dakar" was created. It included a Superior School of Law, a Preparatory School of Medicine and Pharmacy, a Superior School of Sciences and a Superior School of Letters but all the students, except those in law, were sent to metropolitan universities after obtaining a first certificate. Few years later in 1957 the Institute

Table 48

TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION.

EVOLUTION OF STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS

Years	Students	Schools
1935	64	2
1938	146	4
1948 (1)	642	5
1955	1,792	13
1960	2,036	
1968	10,674	69

Sources : 1935 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937, p. 25, 26.
 1938 : Idem, 1939, p. 26, 27.
 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 96.
 1955 : Idem, 1956, p. 73, 74.
 1960 : C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A., Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1-5 (9).
 1968 : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, Section IV, p. 27, 28, 29.

- (1) Until 1948 the data only concern the public sector. However an idea of the importance of the private sector before the 1950s may be suggested by the fact that in 1955 it accounted for only 1 school out of 13 and 28 students out of 1,792.

Table 49

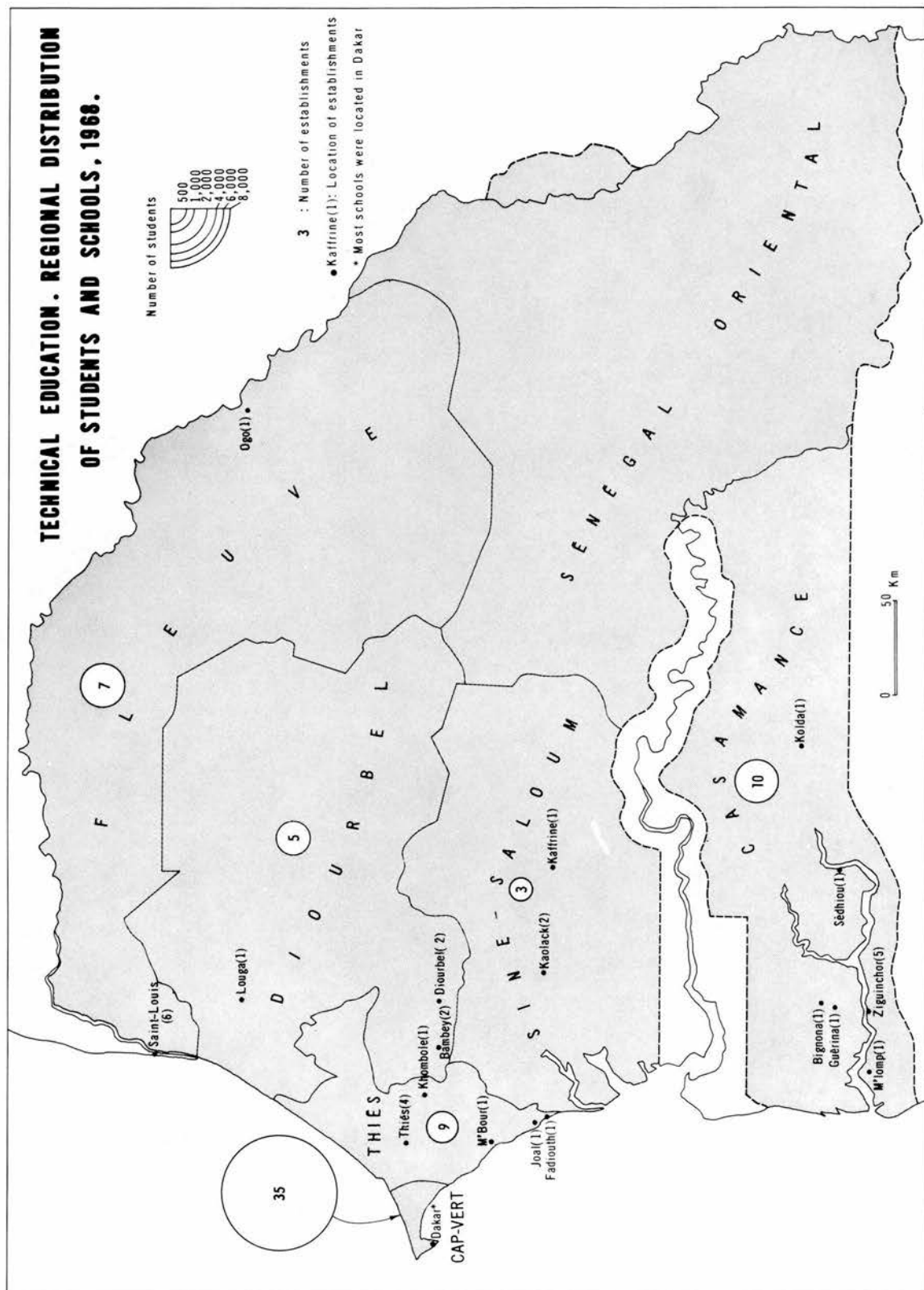
TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS, 1968

Regions	Schools	Students
Cap-Vert	35	7,673
Casamance	10	768
Diourbel	5	684
Fleuve	7	1,090
Sénégal Oriental	0	0
Sine-Saloum	3	164
Thiès	9	486
Sénégal	69	10,865

Source : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale,
1969, Section IV, p. 27, 28, 29.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION. REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS, 1968.



Source: see table 49.

Figure 31

was transformed into a university, namely the University of Dakar, and its competence was greatly increased.

Until the early 1960s the Institute and later the University, the only higher institution in both French West and Equatorial Africa, was meant to be African rather than Senegalese in its catchment and responsibilities. In that respect the choice of Dakar (the main French African town and the capital of A.O.F.) as the seat of such an institution was not accidental at all. After the breaking up of the West African Federation and the diminution of direct French influence the African vocation of Dakar University was gradually reduced. Still today its clientele is surprisingly international but the Senegalese element has constantly increased since the 1950s : 26% in 1958, 35% in 1964 and 55% in 1970. In absolute terms the number of enrolled Senegalese students has passed from 266 to 776 in 1964 and 2,275 in 1970 (see table 50). It may be interesting here to recall that less than 30 years ago, hardly 2,500 students attended secondary schools and higher education depended mainly on metropolitan institutions.

Thus there has been in Senegal during the last 70 years a steady expansion of modern education facilities matched by a parallel increase in school attendance at different levels. In spite of a long European presence

Table 50

UNIVERSITY OF DAKAR.

EVOLUTION OF STUDENTS AND DISTRIBUTION BY ORIGIN

Years	Senegalese		Other Africans		French	Other non Africans	Total
	Number	%	Number	%			
1951							140
1954							392
1958	266	26	607	58	167		1,040
1964	776	35	659	29	723	86	2,244
1970	2,275	55	1,244	30	465	179	4,163

Sources : 1951, 1954, 1958, 1964 : Bureau Universitaire
de Statistique, 1965, p. 4, 5.
1970 : Le Soleil, Dakar, 23 March 1971.

in the area such a move was late to come and slow to develop but it gained, after 1945, a momentum which has not ceased. Thanks to the efforts of independent Senegal the general situation has improved greatly during the last 10 years. Yet it must be admitted that on the eve of independence Senegal was already engaged in the process of modern education. A notable number of Senegalese had attended French higher institutions. Nearly 20% of the school age population attended primary school, secondary education was underway and Dakar, the capital, could claim a university. There existed strong regional disparities at both primary and secondary levels and on the whole the towns were much better equipped than the countryside but there had been a start in every region. As a result the country could claim a new elite and a sizeable section of the population which had directly undergone the influence of Western education or more precisely the influence of modern education in a French administered Senegal.

2. Educational system.

In Tropical Africa as a whole it is impossible to discuss modern education without mentioning the role of Christian missionary societies. The reason for this is that in certain territories missionaries, until recently,

had a virtual monopoly over the educational system. It was, for example, the case in Ghana where not surprisingly 77% of the elected Legislative Assembly members in 1954 were Christian (5). As to Senegal, however, one cannot draw such a parallel between Evangelical activity and Western education or the modern elite. The missionary societies came early in Senegal and at first were encouraged to do so by the authorities, who employed them in the schools. In fact catholic missionaries were responsible for almost all the formal education before 1900 and at the turn of the century all but one of the ten existing schools were in their hands (6). But with the disestablishment of the Church in France and the breach which followed between the Vatican and Paris, France adopted a policy of "strict neutrality" if not hostility towards missionary and private educational enterprise in its colonies (7).

As a result, the organisation of education in Senegal after 1900 or so was taken over by the administration which in fact exercised, until the end of the colonial period, a strict control over the whole system and directly administered most of the schools at all levels. Here the word "control"

(5) Almond, G.A., and Coleman J.S. (ed.), 1960, p. 278.

(6) Thompson, V. and Adloff, R., 1958, p. 516.

(7) Buell, R.L., 1928, Vol. II, p. 70.

was not a vain word : the system, a replica of the metropolitan system was uniform and highly centralised : programs and even curricula were determined by the administration and the latter also had the exclusive right to grant diplomas, a feature that in fact tended to draw the private as well as the public sector under the firm supervision of the Public authorities. The situation remained the same after 1960, for if the Government of Senegal willingly continued to take advantage of private participation, it was not ready at all to diminish in any way the state control and contribution to a sector judged vital for a policy of development and seen as the most efficient instrument of political socialisation. Thus at the primary level the public powers could claim as much as 90% of the schools and as high a percentage of school attendants until the late 1940s. In the 1950s such proportions dropped slightly but only to increase after independence and almost reach their former level (see table 51). In 1968, there existed 184 private primary schools in the country, representing about 14% of the total number (1319). However 59% of these establishments were non confessional, which means that hardly 2% of the primary school pupils attended confessional schools. The figures reflect better than anything else the marginal role which was, and is, reserved to Christian missionary societies in the realm of modern education in Senegal. At the post primary level, the scarcity of data

Table 51

EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PRIMARY EDUCATION,
PUPILS AND SCHOOLS

Years	PUBLIC				PRIVATE			
	Pupils		Schools		Pupils		Schools	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1931			88	90			16	10
1935	15,139	93			1,384	7		
1938	15,525	91	100	89	1,457	9	13	11
1948	27,618	91	180	91	2,912	9	17	9
1955	46,400	83	255	83	9,200	17	52	17
1960	88,906	83	400	80	18,005	17	100	20
1968	216,584	87	1,135	86	32,165	13	184	14

Sources : 1931 : Labouret, H., 1933, p. 85.
 1935 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937, p. 25, 26.
 1938, 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 83, 84, 94, 95.
 1955 : Idem, 1956, p. 74.
 1960 : C.I.N.A.M. - S.E.R.E.S.A., Rapport général, Vol. 1, p. 1 (5) 14 and Verrière, L., 1965, p. 84.
 1968 : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, P. I/20, I/23.

makes it difficult to assess precisely the respective contribution of both sectors before 1950. However, there seems to be no reason at all to believe that the relative importance of the private sector was any greater than it proved to be in the 1950s. The figures available from 1955 onwards show clearly the preponderance of the public sector. At the secondary level, for instance, the public sector could claim over 80% of the students and 70% of the schools in 1955. The number of private establishments has greatly increased and almost caught up with the public sector in the 1960s but the recruitment of the public schools has remained very much higher (see table 52). As for technical and professional education which really developed into a coherent organisation of its own only after 1960, it comes under the authority of the Government which through the " Ministère de l'enseignement technique et professionnel " controls the whole system, administers directly over 65% of the establishments and provides teaching for nearly 80% of the students.

In the eyes of an administration which in general was aware of the danger of a large, unabsorbed intelligensia and tended to see the school not only as a tool of progress but also as the most precious instrument to transform culturally, or to Gallicise, the population, the public take-over of the education was most probably welcomed as a

Table 52

EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECONDARY EDUCATION,
STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS

Years	PUBLIC				PRIVATE (1)			
	Students		Schools		Students		Schools	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	622		2					
1938	992		2					
1948	2,329		11					
1955	3,628	81.9	13	72	803	18.1	5	28
1960	6,701	78.5	30	77	1,835	21.5	9	23
1968 (2)	28,095	73.9	75	54	9,920	26.1	63	46

Sources : 1935 : Agence Economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937, p. 25, 26.
 1938 : Idem, 1937, p. 26, 27.
 1948 : Haut-Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1951, p. 96.
 1955 : Idem, 1956, p. 73, 74.
 1960 : Dieng, F., 1960, p. 2.
 1968 : Sénégal, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1969, p. II/22, II/25, III/4, III/11.

- (1) Although the figures relating to the private sector prior to the 1950s are not to hand, there is no reason to believe that its relative importance on the whole was any greater than in 1955.
- (2) The percentage of private schools between 1960 and 1968 doubled to nearly reach 50%. However the proportion of students attending private schools has increased less than 5% during the same period.

positive move. It certainly corresponded to Governor General Chaudié's view (1895-1900) who saw the school as " ... le moyen d'action le plus sûr qu'une nation civilisatrice ait d'acquérir à ses idées les populations encore primitives et de les élever graduellement jusqu'à elle " and " l'élément de propagande de la cause et de la langue française le plus certain dont le gouvernement puisse disposer " (8). A view echoed by Hardy some twenty years later when he enthusiastically presented the village school, perhaps the main pillar of the new system, as " un instrument de moralisation et de loyalisme " where " le nom de la France est invoqué toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un progrès réalisé ou d'un progrès possible " (9). Two statements which sum up French approach to colonisation, stress the key role reserved to modern education and explain the interest of the authority in controlling the educational system. One may also add that in a Senegal, where the Muslim population was already important and increasing, the public school (a non confessional establishment by definition) was likely to be seen by the administration as the most proper institution to reach all sections of the population regardless of their faith.

(8) From a circular written circa 1897. Quoted in Villard, A., 1943, p. 207.

(9) Hardy, G., 1917, p. 54.

Thus Senegal after 1900 or so was endowed with a system of education carefully controlled by the administration and clearly defined not only to train Africans for participation in the colonial administration and economy, but also to serve a general policy strongly assimilationist in character. As the policy of assimilation pursued in the four communes failed to eradicate the African character of the population, the system of education did not succeed in creating genuine African Frenchmen. It had, however, very interesting consequences highly relevant to the issue of national integration.

First, the nature of the education system was a crucial factor in creating an elite, very cohesive, and surprisingly indifferent to local nationalism, which after independence has constituted a major element of unity. This elite sufficiently small to present no danger, carefully selected, moulded and then absorbed into the colonial system was very united by its formation and much influenced by French thinking. It was the offspring of a system of education which, in line with the overall colonial policy, disregarded traditional divisions, whether religious, cultural or political, to identify itself with a new territorial entity and most importantly with a new kind of society in which former social or political institutions seemed to have no place.

In Senegal as in other territories where modern education was encouraged on a large scale, the most evident effect of such a change was to create a social mobility and a secularisation of values, human relations and politics which quietly but most effectively undermined the social structure of traditional societies, eroded the characteristic traits to which they owed their distinctiveness and their cohesion and finally fostered the emergence of a larger scale society. For this reason and even though its effects cannot be isolated from those resulting from changes initiated in political and economic institutions, modern education is invariably identified as the most powerful factor for social change in Africa. Ironically, however, as it became increasingly clear to Africans that Western education was not only the source of material success but also the answer for social prestige and, most importantly, political power, the uneven progress of modern education from one region to another has contributed to new tensions or the arousal of old enmities among groups within the new society in several colonies. As these territories gained independence, such disparities engendered tribal or culture-group nationalism, which have weakened or prevented the growth of territorial nationalism. As stressed earlier in this chapter, there were in Senegal strong regional disparities in terms of Western education. However, it seems fair to say that the development of modern education did not

engender such a counter effect, for the areal variations were not, and could not in many instances, be identified with one group or another. The system of education, clearly identified with a strong central administration whose authority could be felt right across the country, was designed to fit administrative regions which crossed and indeed disregarded ethnic or other former divisions in such a way that it would have been very difficult to equate regional disparity with culture-group disparity. Moreover, and contrary to the case of certain colonies where the penetration of a missionary controlled education was accidental and often influenced by the prospect of more conversions, the system of education, indifferent to ethnic or religious labels, could aim at a wider recruitment. In this respect it is very interesting to note that in 1960, on the eve of independence, school attendance by ethnic group did not show a great disparity (see table 53).

Table 53

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1960

ETHNIC GROUPS	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE (%)
Wolof	19
Lébou	38
Sérér	15
Peul	8
Toucouleur	12
Sarakolé	15
Manding	11
Diola	19
Other Casamance groups	23
Moors	10

Source : Martin, V., 1964, p. 69.

Comment : Among the groups which form the bulk (over 95%) of the population (Wolof, Sérér, Peul, Toucouleur, Diola, Manding) only one, the Peul, shows a percentage inferior to 10 while none of the others reaches one of 20.

PART FOUR

ISLAMISATION AND WOLOFISATION

Islamisation and Wolofisation are purposely brought together to form a major section of this study. In addition to being essentially cultural in character, these two movements were closely linked in their operation. In Sine-Saloum and in Lower Casamance, for example, the incidence of Islam and the Wolofisation process were coincident. The majority of the faithful who joined the Mouride movement were Wolof, and it is this powerful Muslim brotherhood which was behind the colonisation of the Western margin of the Ferlo and the expansion of groundnut cultivation along the Dakar - Niger railway line.

Language and religion are two features which often generate binding and separating forces in political societies. The reason for this is perhaps that in many instances they are most obvious signs of basic cultural difference or affinity. To understand what this really means, one may refer to the phenomenon of Wolofisation in Senegal. The process of giving up a mother tongue as the usual means of communication to adopt another one, may be considered as a purely linguistic operation. But most often, if not inexorably this process implies socio-cultural changes. For a Sérér, to be 'Wolofised' does not only mean that he uses Wolof as his first language but also that he is now a Muslim and has adopted a new system of values and new social, economic and political attitudes which bring him closer to the Wolof. In other words, the language a Sérér uses tells a great deal about the degree of cultural affinity he has or has not with a Wolof wherever he may live or whatever he may do.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ISLAMISATION

7.1 The long presence of Islam.

Senegal is a sub-Saharan country which may be contrasted on several grounds to Mediterranean and Saharan Africa with their strong cultural and historical ties to the Middle-East and the Arab World. However, because of its location just South of Sahara it came into early contact with Islam. According to some Muslim historians the penetration of Islam in Soudanian Africa would date back to the first years of the Hegira. This view is generally regarded as an enthusiastic exaggeration. North African Muslims undoubtedly visited the Southern fringe of the Sahara as soon the end of the VIIth century, some of them served as treasurers in indigenous royal households and mosques were even built ; but the populations and their rulers remained adherents of their own cults and for a long time Islam remained the religion of a few lighter-skinned foreigners (1). It seems certain, on the other hand, that Islam had spread across the Southern part of Western Sudan - the present Mauritania - around the year 1000, and

(1) Delafosse, M., 1922, p. 322.

reached the banks of the Senegal by the middle of the XIth century. However, despite the notable influence Islam was to exercise South of Senegal river, any general Islamisation of the population was to come much later. Islam in fact made the greatest progress ever and became decisively established during the colonial period. And this even though the French were suspicious and tried to discourage such an evolution.

There seems to be a double contradiction which merits some explanations.

The history of Islamisation in Senegal spreads over a long time. It is rather complex and would have to be dissected into several periods to be fully appreciated. In brief, however, it can be divided in a few main phases typified by an initial expansion followed by a period of regression or stagnation. The first stage took place in the second half of the XIth century with the conversion, by the " Almoravides ", of the princely families of the Tekrour, a black African Kingdom established in the middle Senegalese valley (the Senegalese Fouta) and the capital of which was located near the present town of Podor. The progress realized by Islam in the following centuries was not however very remarkable. Sizeable pockets of Muslims survived in the valley, southward Islam gained a few converts and

enjoyed a certain prestige but the bulk of the population and their princes remained mainly animist. Towards the end of the XVth century there occurred another important wave of Islamisation which continued throughout the XVIth century. This phase contributed to a considerable though ephemeral expansion in central Soudan but it only affected Senegambia marginally. A new significant phase began in the end of the XVIIIth century by the revolt of the Torobe (2) who overthrew the then animist Peul leadership in the Fouta and established a theocratic form of government unmistakably Muslim : the " Almamiat " or the government of the Almami (Al Iman, the one who directs the prayer). Islam then became a compulsory creed in the Middle Valley and the non Muslim elements were given a choice between conversion or emigration. It is also under the " Almamiat " that a few decades later the Toucouleur swarmed Southward and Eastward to give free rein to their politico-religious proselytism and that El Hadj Omar laid down, in present Mali, the base of an ephemeral Toucouleur empire. Contrary to the XIth century phase, this one was indigenous in character. It was

(2) The origin of the Torobe (singular : Torodo), " Those who pray together ", dated back to the appearance of Islam in the area in the XIth century. They had survived since in small pockets as faithful Muslims (Sy, Cheik Tidjane, 1969, p. 31).

also greater in importance and led to a considerable Islamic expansion in Senegal by giving rise to successive politico-religious movements which deeply involved the Wolof, the Manding and the Peul and affected the Sérér and the Diola (3). Moreover the period of stagnation which followed this last wave was very short and of a little significance. Perhaps it would be fairer to say that Islam did not really lose ground as it entered almost immediately the final and decisive phase of its expansion.

If, between the XIth and the XIXth centuries, Islam was permanently present in Western Soudan and did in fact influence the course of events, it did not make a clean sweep. This, it seems, may be explained by the fact that if it was imported from the North, it was never imposed by superior foreign arms and soon became no more and no less than another religion, or another political force, vigorous enough to influence events but not strong enough to change the basic socio-political setting. Most often associated with a particular ethnic group or a political entity, Islam did not succeed in transcending the traditional pattern of relationships between the different culture-groups but rather became prisoner of it. Left to themselves Islam and

(3) For further details on the different phases of Islamisation in West Africa see: Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 41 to 83.

animism seem to have settled in a sort of historico-geographic equilibrium. Historically periods of intense Islamisation were typically followed by periods of regression or stagnation which in fact were often associated with changes in the balance of power. On the ground this pattern found expression in the existence of two zones, one strongly Muslim in the North and one strongly animist in the South, separated by a middle belt in perpetual flux. Senegal was precisely situated in the middle belt, which may explain the long influence of Islam and at the same time the late decisive Islamisation of the population. From the XI century onwards there existed pockets of Islam in the Senegalese Fouta. In the South, as soon as the outset of the XVI century, " many Manding followed the religion of Mahomet " (4). And Ca da Mosto who visited the West African Coast during the XV century mentioned the presence of Marabouts in the court of the Wolof king and in the villages of the countryside (5). Still the Torobe only took over the leadership of the Fouta in the end of the XVIIIth century. In 1818 Mollien noted that Islam was making " progress every day " in the Cayor but he also remarked that the Djolof was in majority animist (6). As for the Baol

(4) Fernandes, V., 1951, Quoted in Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 556.

(5) Crone, G.R., (ed.), 1937. Quoted in Behrman, L.G., 1967, p. 56.

(6) Mollien, G., 1822. Quoted in Monteil, V., 1964, p. 96.

and the Sine, Boilat in 1853 observed that they were mainly animist (7). South of the Gambia, in Casamance, the Manding, Muslim of long standing, had not imposed their religion on the Peul, their vassals, let alone on the hostile and thoroughly animist Diola. Thus Senegal, in 1850, is far from being a Muslim land. Among the main groups the Toucouleur and, to all appearances, the Manding were really Muslim, but the Wolof were by no means entirely Islamised whereas the Diola and the Sérér were still convinced animists. Nevertheless five decades later Senegal counted over 50% of its population as Muslim and this proportion has now been raised to at least 80%.

7.2 Islam in modern Senegal.

It has been impossible in the past and it is still impossible today to determine with precision the number of Muslims in Senegal. There are a few main reasons for this. First, as stressed earlier, there has never been a real census. Secondly, it is highly probable that suspicious administrators have tended to over-estimate their number in the first decades of this century. Thirdly, it seems that many indigenous people tend by conformism to declare themselves Muslims even though they are not in reality.

(7) Boilat, P.D., 1853. Idem p. 96.

As a result figures have gone up and down and continue to do so depending on the sources. According to various official data the number of Muslims passed from 869,000 in 1908 to 775,000 in 1914, 915,000 in 1915-1916 and 834,000 in 1922, successively representing 75, 62, 70 and 60% of the population. As for today, according to the 1960-1961 sample survey, they would number nearly 2,800,000 and represent over 90% of the total African population. These figures are however contested, namely by Martin (8) who proposes more convincingly the figure of 80%. Chailley (9), on the other hand, estimated that they represented around 70% in 1960 (see table 54).

Whatever may be, it now seems certain that the proportion of Muslims, fairly low in the beginning of the last century, raised to 50% or so by 1900 and has reached 80% in the 1960s.

In terms of territorial distribution this means that all the present basic administrative regions of Senegal count a majority of Muslims and this even though it is recognised with Martin that the 1960-1961 survey over-estimated their number (see tables 55 and 56 and figure 32).

(8) Martin, V., 1964, p. 47.

(9) Chailley, M., 1962, p. 250.

Table 54

RECORDED NUMBER OF MUSLIMS AT DIFFERENT TIMES

YEARS	TOTAL POPULATION	MUSLIMS	
		NUMBER	%
1908	1,164,000	869,000	75
1912	1,244,000	818,000	66
1914	1,254,000	775,000	62
1916	1,252,000	915,000	73
1922	1,220,000	834,000	68
1936	1,800,000	1,270,000	71
1940	1,700,000	1,200,000	71
1960 (2) a) b) c)	3,110,000	2,789,000	90
		2,488,000	80
		2,177,000	70

Sources : 1908, 1912, 1914, 1940 : Senegal, National Archives, files 22G20, 22G27, 22G29 and 2G40.26 respectively.

1916 : Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1915-1916, p. 138.

1922 : Idem, 1922.

1936 : Villard, A., 1943, p. 3.

1960 : a) Verrière, L., 1965, p. 73;

b) Martin, V., 1964, p. 47;

c) Chailley, M., 1962, p. 250.

Table 55

SENEGAL : REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE
 ACCORDING TO THE 1960-1961 SAMPLE-SURVEY

Administrative region	MUSLIMS		ANIMISTS		CHRISTIANS	
	in 000	%	in 000	%	in 000	%
Cap-Vert	377	95	2		19	5
Casamance	379	72	98	18	52	10
Diourbel	502	99				
Fleuve	341	99				
Sénégal Oriental	151	99				
Sine-Saloum	674	93	22	3	25	4
Thiès	356	88	20	5	30	7
SENEGAL	2,780	91	142	5	126	4

Source : Verrière, L., 1965, p. 73.

Table 56

SENEGAL : REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE

ACCORDING TO MARTIN (1)

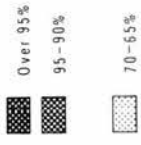
Administrative region	MUSLIMS		ANIMISTS		CHRISTIANS	
	in 000	%	in 000	%	in 000	%
Cap-Vert	312	91			30	9
Casamance	360	68	100	19	60	12
Diourbel	465	92	36	8		
Fleuve	341	99				
Sénégal Oriental	151	99				
Sine-Saloum	508	70	206	27	30	3
Thiès	263	65	90	23	30	9
SENEGAL	2,450	80	450	15	150	5

Source : Martin, V., 1964, p. 47.

- (1) The figures in many cases are not Martin's but they reflect his reserve regarding the Sample-Survey results shown in the previous table.

ISLAM IN SENEGAL

Proportion of total Muslims
by administrative region :



0 50 Km

Figure 32

Source : see table 56.

Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, this also means that the Muslims in all the main ethnic groups form a majority. According to the Sample Survey this majority is absolute not only in the case of the Toucouleur, the Manding, the Wolof and the Peul but also in the case of the Sérer and the Diola. In Martin's view, however, this majority is not absolute in the case of the Diola and the animists outnumber the Muslims among the Sérer (10). Yet the same author recognises that 30% of the Sérer and 45% of the Diola have passed to Islam and that the major proportion of the rest are still animists (see table 57). And to judge by the past trend, if there is a race at all between Christianity and Islam for the conversion of the remaining animist populations, it seems that Islam is decisively winning it. Islam is in fact making progress every day among the Sérer and the Diola and this even though Catholic missionaries are well established in both these groups. It can therefore reasonably be assumed that animism in the next few decades will mainly lose ground to Islam.

7.3 Islam and colonisation.

It seems more than likely that the politico-religious events which took place during the XIXth century contributed,

(10) Martin, V., 1964, p. 48.

Table 57

ETHNIC GROUPS AND RELIGIONS IN SENEGAL

ETHNIC GROUPS	TOTAL NUMBER	MUSLIMS%	ANIMISTS%	CHRISTIANS%
Wolof (1)	1,153,000	99 (5)		
Peul	446,000	99		
Toucouleur (2)	344,000	99		
Manding	206,000	99		
Sérér a) (3)	550,000	83	8	10
b) (4)		30	60	10
Diola a)	215,000	55	28	17
b)		47	35	18
Mandjack a)	20,000	25	40	35
b)		35	40	35
Mancagne a)	10,000	1	8	91
b)				99
Balant a)	70,000	45	43	12
b)		50	40	10

(1) Including the Lébou.

(2) Including the Sarakolé.

(3) a) refers to Verrière, L., 1965, p. 76. These figures come from the 1960-61 Sample-Survey results.

(4) b) refers to Martin, V., 1964, p. 47. The figures in many cases are not Martin's but reflect his reserve regarding the Sample-Survey results.

(5) Both Verrière and Martin agree that the overwhelming majority of the Wolof, Peul, Toucouleur and Manding are Muslims. For that reason the percentage entered in the appropriate column is 99.

at least partly, to the late but decisive Islamisation of Senegal. After all, in simple territorial terms, they involved almost the whole of Senegal and if some groups such as the Toucouleur, Manding, Wolof and Peul were primarily implicated, the Sérer and the Diola were also affected. Secondly, these events bore in many instances on populations who had been slowly penetrated by Islam and were, so to speak, riper than ever for conversion. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, Islam, emerging as a force of resistance to foreign occupation, was able, perhaps for the first time, to become a common denominator transcending former culture-group divisions. Nevertheless it seems that the last traditional wave of Islamisation alone cannot explain the mass Islamisation of populations who so far had managed to resist it. Although it is impossible to say what would have happened if the French had suddenly retired in the 1880s or 1890s, it is certain that the next six or seven decades of French rule had a decisive influence on the turn of events. During the colonial regime the number of Muslims not only rose considerably, as suggested earlier, but Islam itself confirmed its position as a determining force and gained a status and a power that it had never had before South of the Senegal. This is most surprising as the French were always suspicious of Islam, did nothing to encourage its expansion and tried to slow it down, even to stop it. The fact is that if the French in theory never

meant to encourage Islam and even adopted policies detrimental to it, they were often led in practice to take steps which enhanced the Islamisation of the population. Moreover, and most significantly, the changes initiated by colonisation in the economic, social and political realms created conditions highly favorable to Islamic diffusion.

It is sometimes said that France has never really had a Muslim policy in West Africa. It is true, as Gouilly pointed out, that such a policy was made of "contradictions", "repentirs" and "brusques retours" (11), but certain major points emerged and these, taken together, form an almost coherent framework (12).

France in senegal was always suspicious of Islam. The first explorers brought back a bad impression of this religion, which, in the words of Mage (13), was the cause of all African evil. Few years later the military fiercely opposed by Muslim leaders in several instances, posed as liberators of oppressed peoples and, to quote Mangin (14),

(11) Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 261.

(12) Behrman, L.G., 1967, p. 93.

(13) Mage, E., 1872. Quoted in Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 249.

(14) Mangin, 1930. Idem.

even as crusaders : " C'est une véritable croisade que nous faisons ici ". And Colonel Archinard wrote : " vous défendrez le terrain en pensant que toujours l'islamisme nous fait des ennemis " (15). This attitude was later held by the civil administration whose position was summed up by Le Chatelier : " La règle fondamentale de notre politique africaine à l'égard de l'Islam soudanien dans son ensemble, sur la côte comme dans l'intérieur, devrait (....) être une extrême réserve, une action déterminée par l'indifférence apparente, par un sentiment inné de tolérance, ni agressive, ni tyrannique, mais attentive et énergique sans hésitation, préventivement plutôt que par réaction. On pourrait assurément limiter ainsi dans une large mesure les inconvénients et des dangers d'une islamisation progressive " (16). In sum, an apparent neutral attitude which would avoid the too well known effects of persecution and hopefully limit the expansion of Islam. However this neutrality did not prevent the coloniser from trying to undermine the Islamic position and to conceive particular policies likely to hamper if not stop the process. Thus Muslim courts were closed in 1903 and a few years later there were attempts to forbid Arabic in courts, impose

(15) Requin, E., 1946. Quoted in Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 249.

(16) Le Chatelier, A., 1899. Quoted in Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 250.

French in Qu'ranic schools and closely control the movements of preachers and the construction of mosques. None of these measures were in fact effective. The Muslim courts were reopened in 1905 and Arabic continued to be used in those courts. Qu'ranic schools remained virtually untouched and it proved impracticable to control closely the activities of the Marabouts. At a more general level, Arnauld, then chief of the Muslim Affairs section in Dakar, proposed in 1912 a policy of intervention aiming at sapping the power of the great marabouts and encouraging the emergence of local islamo-animist cults peculiar to each culture-group. Even this was judged too favourable and in 1923, in a book entitled " Islamisme contre naturisme au Soudan français " Brévié, then director of Political Affairs, thus outlined the new orientation to be taken : " Assurer l'équilibre de notre domination en opposant à l'islamisme le contrepoids du fétichisme organisé " (17). In fact, this program never really got off the ground, Islam continued to progress and the French came to realise that the only possible way left to them was to exercise a delicate control and regulate a movement they could not slow down, let alone stop. They learned, as it were, to compromise with Islam but their suspicion remained. There were several reasons for this

(17) Brévié, J., 1923. Quoted in Gouilly, 1952, p. 250, 251.

suspicion. From their experience in North Africa the French knew that Islam could be a real political force, and they remembered that, in West Africa, it had been behind any real opposition to the conquest. In sum, they feared the genuine temporal power of the Marabouts and their ascendancy over their faithful. Thus to impede the progress of Islam was to diminish the possibility of politico-religious movements which could seriously embarrass the authorities. Secondly, France also feared political interference from outside, especially from the Middle-East where the Arab movement was proving stronger and stronger and the idea of pan-islamism was gaining ground every day. Finally, although this view was contested in some quarters, Islam was thought to be fatalist in its philosophy and incompatible with progress in many of its practices.

Despite their basic suspicion and their "neutral" attitude, however, the French were led to favour Islam's position in Senegal. As Gouilly cleverly put it : " Les mêmes hommes qui à Bamako ou à Dakar élaboraient des directives destinées à conjurer le ' péril de l'Islam ', prenaient dans la pratique des mesures propres à l'affermir " (18).

(18) Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 254.

In the realm of justice, for instance, France was pushed to accord a greater place to Muslim law. Indigenous law was little known if at all and was early discarded as impracticable because of its variety and its vagueness. Furthermore, the administrator in the field tended to see the introduction of Qu'ranic law as " ... un progrès réel, la justice fétichiste a une tendance naturelle à être vague, incertaine et arbitraire, la tradition orale est forcément variable et changeante, elle se met facilement au service du bon vouloir et de l'inconstance des maîtres. Le texte musulman est au contraire un jalon, il précise, généralise et fixe la coutume, il rend possible l'évolution du droit et tire profit de ce qui est acquis " (19). There were of course some attempts to reverse this evolution but they were unsuccessful and Muslim law continued to be proposed and sometimes imposed by the French administrator.

In the realm of education something similar happened. The French, who soon realised that the implantation of an adequate modern education system would be long task, though it would be profitable to maintain, develop and ameliorate the " Enseignement musulman " thought to be : the only mode of instruction and education in West Africa. In fact this

(19) Quellien, A., 1910. Quoted in Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 257.

was not true and it is now widely known that the animist societies had a system of education and instruction surprisingly developed, but at the time very few people could question such a view. The French's goal was not at all to encourage Islam but on the contrary to modify the Qu'ranic schools teaching and to spread the use of French. Shortly, the idea was to use the Muslim system of education both to extend French culture and diminish or dilute the Islamic influence of the Qu'ranic schools. The results were however quite different to the ones expected. The teaching of the Qu'ranic schools remained virtually untouched but their number increased from about 1,400 in 1912 to 1,800 in 1942 while, more significantly the number of pupils increased five fold between 1906 and 1960 (see table 58).

Thirdly, the French were pushed to use Marabouts and thus gave them a prestige and a sort of semi-official status that no other religious leaders could claim, whether Christian or animist. During the first World War, for instance, Amadou Bamba, the founder of the Mourides, and Malick Sy, the prestigious Tidjane leader, were asked to contribute in the recruitment of soldiers. The Marabouts were also used to help prevent pan-Islamism and anti-European sentiment among the populations. It now seems that these fears were not justified, as the Muslims were generally out

Table 58

QU'RANIC SCHOOLS

YEARS	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF PUPILS
1906		12,288
1908		11,403
1912	1,385	11,451
1932		8,618
1934	1,309	11,139
1936	1,323	12,482
1937	1,292	13,277
1938	1,288	13,295
1939	1,389	14,328
1940	1,368	15,496
1941	1,442	16,700
1942	1,746	18,084
1960		65,700

Source : Behrman, L.G., 1967, p. 162, 163.

of touch with the major political currents. Nonetheless for the French, who were deeply involved in North Africa and much aware of the Muslim renewal in the Middle East, the fear of such a possibility existed and pushed them to depend more heavily than ever on the cooperation of the Senegalese marabouts (20). As a result they found themselves deeply involved in Muslim affairs. It became not unusual for families of great marabouts to expect, as the price of their good will, money from the administration, decorations and, most importantly, advice and material assistance for certain development projects of which they were promoters. In sum, the administration, neutral in theory, became in practice a supporter of prestigious Muslim leaders in a sort of give-and-take relationship which undoubtedly served Islam's cause.

Finally, most of the administrators in direct contact with the population found it useful to base their action on Muslim elements. In fact, most of them tended to overtly prefer Muslims and used them rather than animists as guides, clerks and interpreters. There were two main reasons for this. First, the administrators in general ignored indigenous customs but were well prepared to deal with Muslims. Several had been trained in Muslim countries. Some had been

(20) Behrman, L.G., 1967, p. 170.

born in Algeria and other had studied at " L'Ecole des Langues Orientales ". Islam was something they knew ; they felt at home among Muslims, and consequently tended to surround themselves with them. Moreover, most of them were convinced of the superiority of Islamic culture, believed that Muslims were more civilized and treated them as such. In the words of one of them, it was : " universellement reconnu que les peuples musulmans de ces régions sont supérieurs aux peuplades demeurées fétichistes pour ce qui concerne l'organisation sociale, la culture intellectuelle, le commerce, l'industrie, le bien-être, le savoir-vivre et l'éducation " (21). Not surprisingly such an attitude improved Islam's prestige and incited the animists to adopt this religion to gain status.

In sum the French were ambivalent towards Islam and their policies, made of contradictions and changes, greatly served the cause of this religion.

Furthermore, the deep transformations which resulted from colonisation were crucial in creating conditions favourable to Islam's diffusion. So much is it so that it is no exaggeration to say that the pacification, the French administrative policies, the construction of modern means of transport, the creation of cities and the transformation

(21) Quellien, A., 1910. Quoted in Gouilly, A., 1952, p. 255.

of the economy were innovations which indirectly but nonetheless decisively contributed to enhance Islam's position in Senegal. The French soon came to realise that, but as they were the first to encourage what to them meant progress there was nothing they could really do about it. This was the inevitable reverse of the medal. As early as 1914 Marty wrote : " Par notre administration nous avons plus fait pour la diffusion de l'Islam pendant ce dernier demi-siècle que les marabouts n'avaient obtenu pendant 300 ans " (22). Paraphrasing, one could have written in 1960 that by their action in fields of activity as remote from religion as economy and urbanisation, for instance, the French did more for Islam than the Muslims themselves.

Pacification prevented Islam from using violent means of propaganda any more, but which the disappearance of violence also disappeared the fear and the resentment this religion inspired especially among the less islamised sections of the population. Moreover the establishment of a regular administration, the development of communications and the introduction of an exchange economy gave the Muslim proselyte the opportunity to penetrate more quietly, but also more easily and deeply than ever before, animist strongholds. These changes also led the merchants and the administration

(22) Marty, P., 1917, p. 374.

to establish a network of posts (trading points, factories in all important villages, administrative centers, schools ...) which most often were entrusted to trained dealers, clerks and civil servants who were Muslim. And this, of course, served the prestige of Islam and greatly facilitated its diffusion. In Casamance, for instance, the progress of Islam among the Diola took place after the pacification and was intimately associated with the introduction of groundnuts as a cash crop, the appearance of rapid and safe communications and more generally the integration of the area into the rest of the colony. However, the whole process of colonisation triggered off changes of much wider consequence. In most areas the creation of cities, the construction of roads, the introduction of money and the arrival of the French administrator did not only mean more Marabouts or Muslim proselytes but also the break-down of traditional organisation. And to societies, whose mode of livelihood and system of values were collapsing irremediably, Islam proved a substitute, perhaps the only substitute which offered a reassuring local colour and was capable of resisting the disintegrative effects of the French presence or at least assuring not too abrupt a transition between the old and the new.

Islam, it is true, was originally an imported religion but by that time it had acquired an African personality.

Contrary to Christian religions it was preached and practiced over long period by people who were typically Black African. It was also less demanding than Christianity : polygamy was, of course, no problem ; it did not require the indigenous to give up all his beliefs and in many instances it adopted and even vivified traditional customs. It could also offer advantages that no animist cult could claim, that is the possibility of belonging to a great religion confident of its superiority, proud of its history and following across the world, devoid of any complex vis-a-vis the religion of the colonial occupant and capable of leadership and organisation. In two words Islam was African enough to be attractive to the indigenous and at the same time detached enough from the cultural foundations of traditional societies to survive their collapse and even profit from it.

Pélissier (23) pointed out that to understand the evolution of the Wolof peasantry it is crucial to take into account the main role played by Muslim religious leaders in its adaption to the political and economic situation brought about by colonisation. As the Wolof case was particular (24) it would be unfair to generalise this view so as to include

(23) Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 112.

(24) See following chapter.

Senegal as a whole. However it would be reasonable to say that one could not understand the evolution of the populations of Senegal without bearing in mind the important part played by Islam in their adaptation to the new basic realities brought about by the coloniser. This could not but foster its diffusion and better its position across the whole country.

The effects of Islamisation in Senegal were wide ranging and deep. Conversion to Islam, especially in the circumstances, did not only mean the adoption of a particular faith but also of a system which includes and governs several human activities. To the Senegalese, Islam meant the adhesion to a new conception of man and his destiny and to a socio-religious group which could not but change his attitude to life, his conception of justice, marriage, his relations with people and even his customs and his foods. And this all the more as Islam came to him as a solution to change in a difficult situation where not only his traditional religion but all its former universe was crumbling.

It is not intended here to discuss in further detail the nature of such mutations. However, their integrative effects on the populations, should not go unnoticed. Islam unified Senegal on the religious plane but, as suggested, the common denominator it provided was much more inclusive

than that. Islamisation also contributed to unite Senegal culturally and socially. So much so that in culturally heterogeneous areas where two forms of religion have coexisted, religious distinction prevails over ethnic difference. In the groundnut basin, for instance, : " Un Sérér musulman, même parlant encore sa langue maternelle, est plus près d'un Wolof que d'un Sérér animiste " (25). Although one should not generalise and conclude from this particular case that Islam has suppressed all ethnic sentiment, it is true that it did a great deal to reduce cultural and regional discontinuities in Senegal as a whole.

(25) Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 292.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WOLOFISATION

Within the framework of a study where integration is the major concern it is appropriate to consider the pattern of cultural relationships which exists among contemporary groups. Some populations for reasons which vary from one case to another, transmit elements of their culture to other populations with which they come into contact. This, of course, helps soften differences, creates similarities across wider sections of the population, and thus fosters national integration. In a country like Senegal, which counts over 3,500,000 inhabitants divided in several culture-groups adjacent to each other and sometimes mingling in the same areas, this process operates at two levels, namely the regional and national levels.

At the regional level one knows, for instance, that the Peul—thanks to the superiority of their socio-political organisation and the driving force of Islam — have gradually assimilated the neighbouring animist groups and thus ensured the unity of Upper Casamance. So did the Manding in Middle Casamance and in the North-Eastern Diola country, where entire villages have adopted Muslim and Manding customs.

Furthermore close contacts and exchanges of cultural traits have softened cultural differences between both the Manding and the Peul in the area. Ethnic particularism has not dissapeared for all that in Casamance, but it seems certain that such cultural exchanges have considerably lowered the degree of heterogeneity.

Although occuring at a regional scale, it seems that such movements constitute a step towards national integration, as they really contribute to diminish the number of cultural entities within the national territory. Ironically, however, as regionalism on a wider scale could prove as great an obstacle on the road to unity—perhaps, even a greater one as less numerous but larger regional culture-groups could offer a stronger resistance — it may be assumed that in practice regional cultural integration constitutes a potential danger. In Senegal, however, such a danger is greatly diminished by the fact that this process of regional integration is accompanied and transcended by a deeper and stronger movement which has the great merit of embracing Senegal as a whole, namely the process of Wolofisation. In view of the importance of this movement and its relevance with respect to integration on a national level, it seems appropriate to discuss it in greater detail.

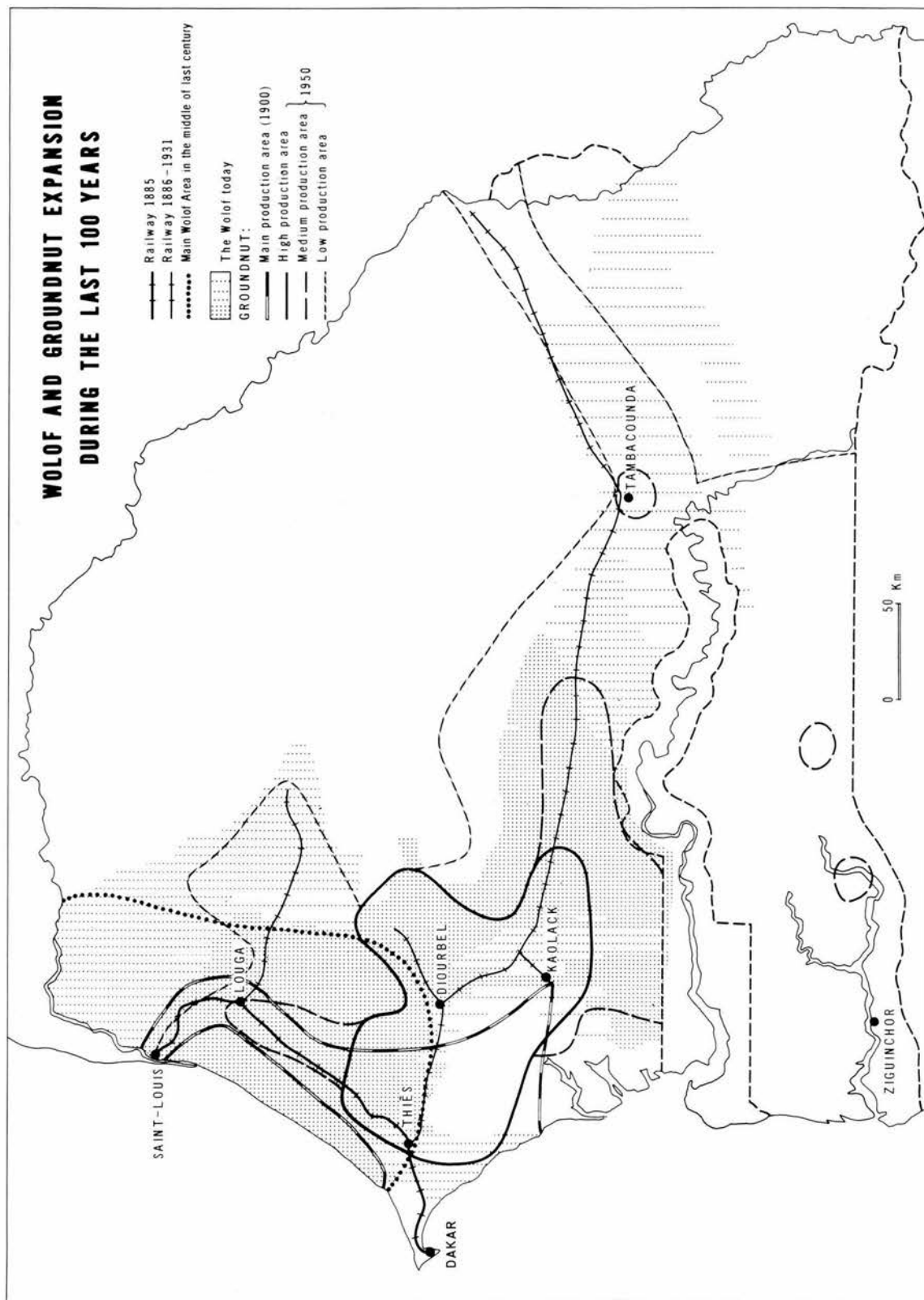
8.1 Wolof in Senegal.

The Wolof tribe is the single most important group in Senegal and represents over 35% of the African population as against the Sérér (18%), the Peul (14%), the Toucouleur (11%), the Diola (7%), the Manding (6%), etc ...

It is not size alone, however, which gives this group a special place in Senegal. Wolof today represent the most urbanised group in Senegal (33%) (1). They form a majority in the largest towns like Dakar, Kaolack, Thiès, Saint-Louis and Rufisque. Even in Ziguinchor, the capital of a region where they hardly represent over 1% of the population, they come first with 27%. They also constitute the only group which has thrown itself so entirely and so enthusiastically into the production of groundnuts. They have followed, and indeed contributed to, the expansion of the groundnut, they are today responsible for over 60% of its production, and in every area where they live in a sizeable number, both the proportion of land devoted to groundnuts and the production of groundnuts are always very high (see figures 33 and 34). Thirdly, it is only where the marabouts are living among Wolof that the brotherhoods have become significant economic

(1) See table 37.

WOLOF AND GROUNDNUT EXPANSION DURING THE LAST 100 YEARS



Main sources: Portères, R., 1952, p.70 and 74 and Sénégal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p.11.

Figure 33

THE WOLOF AND THE GROUNDNUT

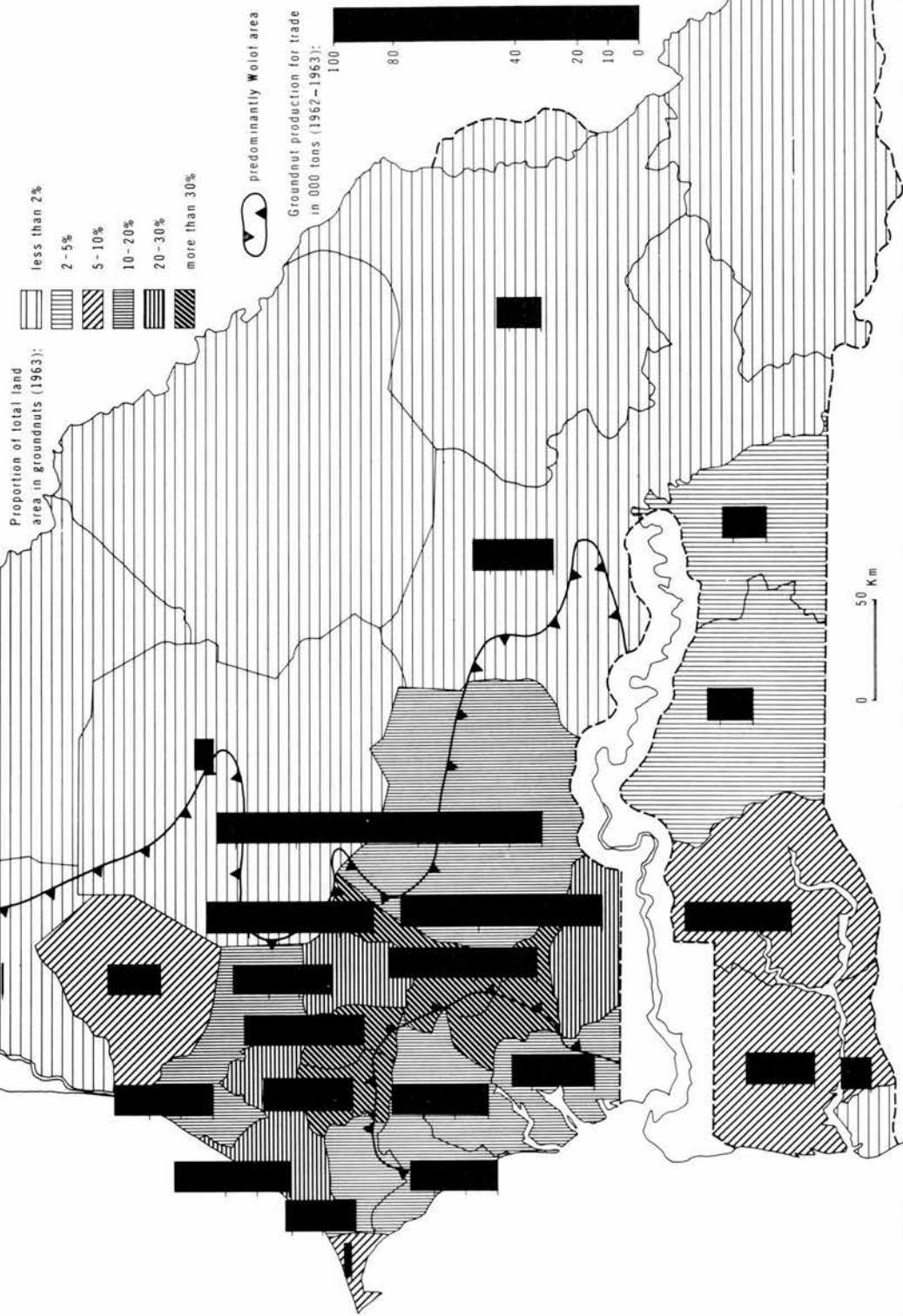


Figure 34

Source: Senegal, Ministère du Plan, 1965, p.11, 16, 30.

and political forces.

As the traditional Wolof country coincides with the area of Senegal most profoundly touched by the political, economic and social evolution undergone by Senegal over the last 100 years, it seems reasonable to make a relation between the situation of the Wolof and the shock of colonisation. Nowhere, in fact, has the impact of colonisation, represented by urbanisation, modern economic development and the revival of Islam, had a stronger influence. The Wolof were the first to come into contact with the Europeans. The first cities were built on the fringe of, or on, their territory and they were the first and the most numerous to participate in urban growth and to take advantage of the political and educational opportunities thus provided. The culture of the groundnut, as a cash crop, was introduced and greatly encouraged in the Cayor around 1850. As early as 1885, a railway operated across the heart of the Wolof country and that same year the Cayor, as a traditional kingdom, was suppressed and definitively annexed to the colony. In the words of Villard : " Les Ouolofs ont formé les premiers cadres administratifs, militaires et maritimes ; le Ouolof des villes est le bénéficiaire incontesté de la révolution politique traduite par les actes de 1833, 1848, 1872 et

surtout de 1916 (2). Le Ouolof de la campagne commence à être bénéficiaire de la révolution économique représentée par l'arachide et les voies ferrées " (3).

However the shock of colonisation, despite all its intensity, cannot alone account for the situation of the Wolof. The Sérér, who were also highly exposed to the colonial impact, reacted quite differently to it and today this group, the less urbanised (7%) and one of the less Islamised (30%), is threatened with assimilation. There is in fact another main reason, rather sociological in character. As Pélissier (4) argues very convincingly, the character of the Wolof traditional society remarkable by the richness of its politico-military organisation, its mobility, the poverty of its agrarian traditions and its lack of genuine social solidarity also explain, at one and the same time its collapse, the crucial role played by Islam in its adaptation to a new situation and the lack of reticence with which the Wolof responded to urbanisation and speculative agriculture.

It seems certain that the Wolof through Islam, speculative agriculture and urbanisation have greatly furthered

(2) See chapter 3.

(3) Villard, A., 1943, p. 33.

(4) Pélissier, P., 1966, p. 100-122.

their influence across the country. Perhaps the best and the most relevant example that could be chosen to make this point is the expansion of their language.

8.2 The French language.

The French in Senegal made great efforts to diffuse the French language among the autochthonous populations. They tried to impose it in the indigenous courts and Qu'ranic schools. Under the regime of Association the ability to read and write French became one of the basic conditions for accession to the privileged status of citizen. The administration of the colony was thoroughly run in French and not only the civil servants and the clerks but very often the canton, and even the village, chiefs were chosen among those who were literate in French. Finally French at school was not only taught as a subject but also used as the only medium of instruction from the very beginning.

This insistence upon French was justified on two main grounds. First the French, who never gave up the idea of assimilation, believed that the diffusion of their language would bring the indigenous peoples to think French and thus create solid cultural ties between metropolitan France and its overseas populations. The second reason was utilitarian. In the words of Georges Hardy, a leading colonial educator,

the diversity of the languages spoken in West Africa made it materially impossible to educate the natives in a native language (5). Both these views were sometimes contested inside and outside France's colonial circles but the emphasis upon French to the exclusion of autochthonous languages remained a characteristic of French rule in Senegal.

However, such a policy did not produce the results expected. The 1960-1961 demographic enquiry revealed that nearly 90% of the African population aged 14 or more did not understand French, and hardly 6% (about 111,000) could write and read it. Among the latter more than 40% (42,000) lived in the urbanised Cap-Vert, 23% (25,000) in the Sine-Saloum and hardly 35% (about 50,000) in the remaining regions of Casamance, Thiès, Fleuve, Diourbel and Sénégal Oriental. This survey also disclosed that in this polygamous community, where the mother is the real center of family life, only 2% of the women understood French and only 1% could write or read it (see table 59). Moreover, and perhaps not surprisingly, a linguistic survey carried out in 1965 also revealed that no more than 0.2% of the public primary school pupils, more than half of which were living in Dakar, spoke French as first language at home (6). Two sets of

(5) See Buell, R.L., 1928, Vol. 2, p. 57 and Hardy, G., 1917, p. 52, 53 and 187.

(6) Wioland, F., 1966, p. 249.

Table 59

PROPORTION OF ADULTS ABLE TO READ OR WRITE

FRENCH IN 1960

ADMINISTRATIVE REGION	MALE %	FEMALE %	MALE AND FEMALE	
			Approx. number	%
Cap-Vert	35	5	42,000	19
Casamance	9	1	15,000	5
Diourbel	3	0	4,000	1
Fleuve	7	1	7,000	4
Sénégal Oriental	1	0	500	-1
Sine-Saloum	11	1	25,000	6
Thiès	9	1	11,000	5
SENEGAL	11	1	105,000	6

Source : Verrière, L., 1965, p. 80.

N.B. : -1 means less than 1%.

figures which establish clearly the basic fact that in Senegal the African population still mainly uses African languages.

8.3 The place of the Wolof.

The following discussion on the spoken languages in Senegal, and in particular the place that falls to the Wolof, is based on the result of Wioland's survey (7). This survey, carried out in 1965, involved more than 35,000 public primary school pupils who were asked, in particular, the ethnic origin of their father and mother, the language they used at home and the other languages they spoke. As private schools recruit their pupils chiefly in certain sectors of the population, some groups, for instance the " Cap-Verdiens " of Portuguese descent, were not represented in proportion to their number. However, as Golliet pointed out, it seems that the sample is " tout à fait représentatif de l'ensemble de la population scolaire sénégalaise et ainsi de l'ensemble de la population adulte ", (8) (9). It is true that still today over half of the school population does not attend primary school but, as noted in chapter 6, it is also a fact that primary education is well established in every

(7) Wioland, F., 1966.

(8) Wioland, F., 1966, p. 3.

(9) It is perhaps appropriate, here, to recall the marginal role reserved to private education in Senegal, especially at the primary level (see chapter 6).

region of Senegal and that school attendance by ethnic group does not show a great disparity.

According to Laverghé de Tressan (10) the several languages spoken in Senegal fall into three main groups :

I. The Senegalo-Guinean group which includes three sub-groups :

1. a) The Wolof and the Lébou
 b) The Sérér (divided in 8 main dialects)
 c) The Diola (divided in 5 main dialects)
2. a) The Baïnouk
 b) The Mancagne
 c) The Balant
 d) The Mandjack
3. The Bassari.

II. The Mande group which includes two sub-groups :

1. The Bambara (divided in three main dialects)
2. The Sarakolé.

(10) Laverghé de Tressan, M. de, 1953.

III. The Peul group which includes two sub-groups :

1. The Toucouleur
2. The Peul (divided in two main dialects).

The importance of these languages varies greatly but five, which stand out as by far the most important, represent nearly 95% of the population. They are :

- The Wolof (11) which dominates (12) in Cap-Vert, Thiès and Diourbel, Eastern Sine-Saloum, and lower Fleuve ;
- The Peul (13) in middle and upper Fleuve, the department of Bakel, and Upper Casamance;
- The Sérér in Western Sine-Saloum ;
- The Manding in the departments of Tambacounda and Kédougou, and in Middle Casamance ;
- The Diola in Lower Casamance.

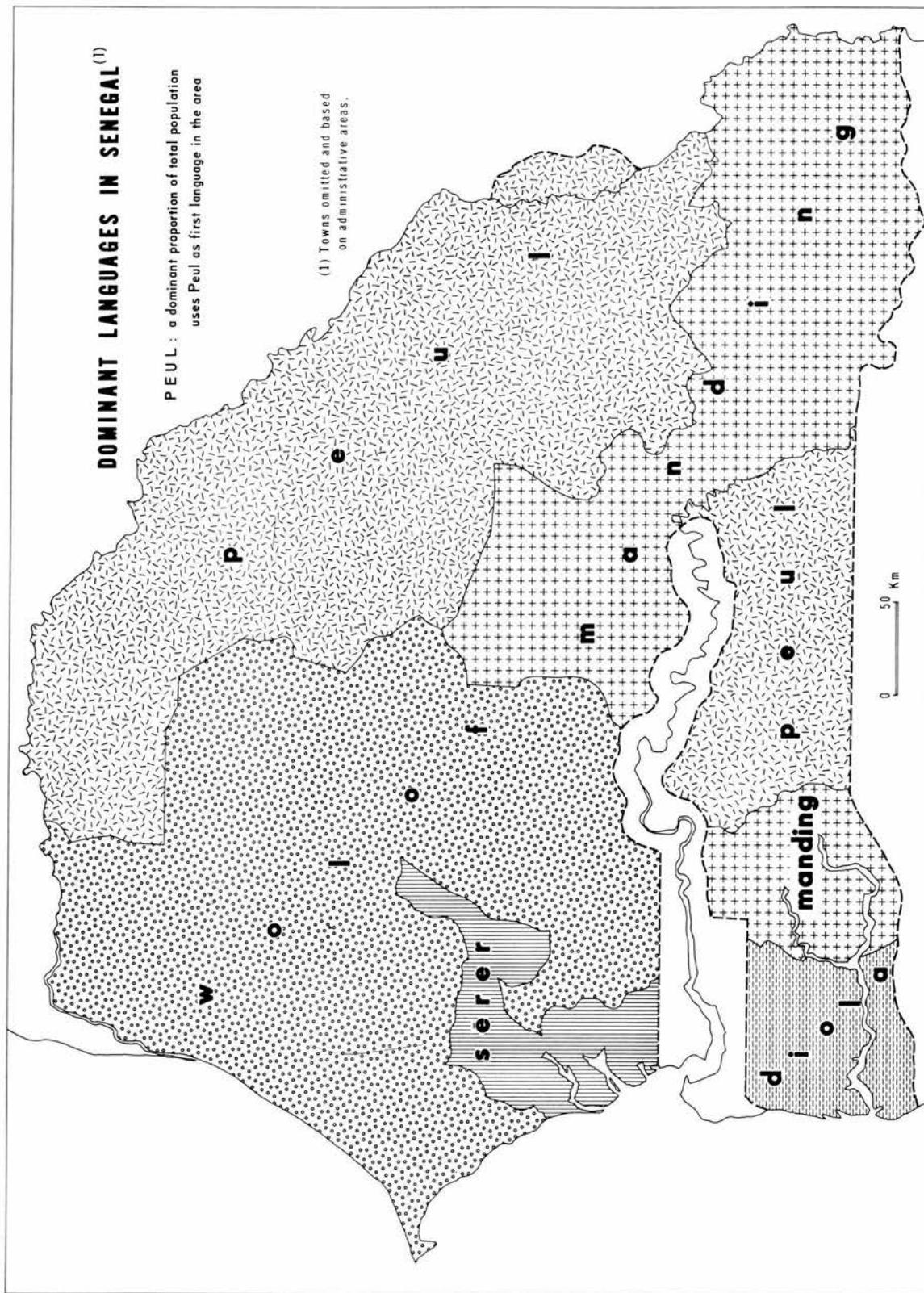
(11) Including the Lébou.

(12) Which means that a majority of people uses it as first language at home.

(13) Including the Toucouleur and Peul sub-groups.

As for the Baïnouk, Mancagne, Balant, Mandjack, Bassari and Sarakolé, they represented hardly 5% of the total population and dominate in very localised areas : the first four in places in Lower and Middle Casamance, the Bassari in the extreme South-East of Sénégal Oriental and the Sarakolé in the Bakel area (see figure 35).

However useful as a starting point, this schematic presentation gives only one aspect of a much more complex reality. It is, in fact, essential to realise from the outset that there exist no relation between the size of the linguistic areas and the importance on a national scale of the language which prevails in each of them. There are three main reasons for this. First, each of these linguistic areas covers territories whose population varies greatly. The Sérér and the Diola, for instance, dominate in small but heavily populated regions whereas the Peul and the Manding do so in large but sparsely occupied areas. Finally the Wolof prevails in a fairly large zone within which one finds the heaviest densities in the country. As a result both the Diola and the Sérér linguistic areas, no less than six times smaller than that of the Manding, are as populous or even more ; and the Wolof area, considerably smaller than that of the Peul, contains more than four times as many people, that is over 2,000,000 and no less than 60% of the total population (see table 60). Secondly, none of the



Source: Wioland, F., 1965.

Figure 35

TABLE 60

LINGUISTIC AREAS : AREA, POPULATION, DENSITY

AREA	AREA (Km ²)	POPULATION	DENSITY
Wolof	56,708	2,077,000	36.6
Peul	74,136	458,000	6.2
Séner	7,935	346,000	43.6
Manding	44,517	258,000	5.8
Diola	7,339	242,000	33.0

Source : Wioland, F., 1965.

linguistic areas is homogeneous : Sérér is used in the Wolof area in significant proportion and so is Diola in the Manding area (chiefly Middle Casamance) and Wolof, Peul and Manding in all five areas. In Western Sine-Saloum, for example, 53% of the population use Sérér as first language but no less than 35% use Wolof, 6% Peul and 3% Manding (see table 61). Thirdly, Wolof is by far the most used language in urban Senegal. In the groundnut basin, where it clearly dominates and where one finds most of the urban population, there exists little difference between the urban agglomerations and their rural hinterland. Most significantly, however, in the parts of the country where other languages dominate the use of Wolof is much more widespread in town than it is in the countryside. This is the case, for instance, in the Peul and Manding linguistic areas and in the Diola country where only 3% of the rural population but 34% and 14% of the population of Ziguinchor and Bignona respectively use Wolof as first language (see tables 62 and 63).

As a result Wolof—which clearly dominates in the most populated areas, is most used in urban Senegal, and is spoken in significant proportion across the country—emerges as the most important language, used in daily life by more than half the population(54%). Within the framework of

Table 61

PROPORTION OF PEOPLE USING WOLOF, PEUL... AS
FIRST LANGUAGE IN EACH LINGUISTIC AREA

LINGUISTIC AREA	WOLOF		PEUL		SERER		MANDING		DIOLA		OTHERS	
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
Wolof	79	1,641,000	8	166,000	5	106,000	3	63,000	1	15,000	4	83,000
Peul	3	14,000	84	385,000			5	21,000	-1	2,000	7	32,000
Sérér	35	121,000	6	22,000	53	184,000	3	12,000			3	10,000
Manding	7	19,000	12	31,000			41	105,000	12	32,000	28	72,000
Diola	8	19,000	2	4,000			9	21,000	70	169,000	11	27,000

Source : Wioland, F., 1965

N.B. : -1 means less than 1%.

Table 62

THE WOLOF AND THE TOWN IN SENEGAL

TOWNS OF SENEGAL (1)		MAIN SPOKEN LANGUAGES						URBAN POPULATION USING WOLOF AS 1s LANGUAGE
Name	Population (2)	First position	% (3)	second position	% (3)	third position	% (3)	
Dakar	470,000	Wolof	72					338,000
Rufisque	55,000	Wolof	90					50,000
Thiès	75,000	Wolof	78					58,000
Saint-Louis	55,000	Wolof	87					48,000
Dagana	4,000	Wolof	82					3,000
Podor	4,000	Peul	54	Wolof	36			1,000
Kaolack	75,000	Wolof	73					55,000
Vélingara	4,000	Peul	42	Manding	27	Wolof	23	1,000
Kolda	7,000	Peul	44	Manding	29	Wolof	13	1,000
Sédhiou	4,000	Manding	67	Wolof	20			1,000
Ziguinchor	35,000	Wolof	34					12,000
Bignona	6,000	Diola	59	Manding	18	Wolof	13	1,000
Diourbel	30,000	Wolof	85					25,000
Louga	17,000	Wolof	85					14,000
M'Bour	17,000	Wolof	88					15,000
Tambacounda	15,000	Manding	40	Wolof	19			3,000
Tivaouane	9,000	Wolof	88					8,000
M'Backé	8,000	Wolof	85					7,000
Fatick	8,000	Sérér	53	Wolof	35			3,000
Guinguinéo	7,000	Sérér	53	Wolof	35			2,000
Bambey	6,000	Wolof	85					5,000
Mécké	6,000	Wolof	88					5,000
ALL TOWNS	917,000	Wolof	72					656,000

Main source : Wioland, F., 1965.

- (1) Including every agglomeration of 5000 or more (except Matam) and a few department chief towns (Dagana, Podor, Sédhiou, Vélingara) whose population amounts to about 4000.
- (2) Estimated population in the mid-1960s.
- (3) For Diourbel, Louga, M'Bour, Tivaouane, M'Backé, Bambey and Mécké the indicated percentage is the one referring to the surrounding area for there exists no particular data for these cities.

Table 63

DIFFERENCE IN THE PROPORTION OF WOLOF
 USERS IN THE TOWN AND THE COUNTRYSIDE
 IN AREAS WHERE ANOTHER LANGUAGE DOMINATES

TOWN	% OF WOLOF USERS AS 1st LAN- GUAGE	% OF WOLOF USERS AS 1st LAN- GUAGE	REGION (dominant language)
Ziguinchor	34	3	Lower Casamance (DIOLA)
Bignona	13		
Podor	36	5	Dept. of Podor (PEUL)
Vélingara	23	2	Upper Casamance (PEUL)
Kolda	13		
Sédhiou	20	4	Middle Casamance (MANDING)

Source : Wioland, F., 1965.

administrative Senegal, this means that Wolof comes first in the capital city, in 6 of the 7 regional capitals, in

13 of the 26 department chief towns and in 4 of the 7 basic administrative regions ; and it comes second in the remaining regional capital (Tambacounda), in the Fleuve region and in 6 department chief towns (see table 64 and figure 36). It also means that in every administrative region of the country, and of course in Senegal as a whole, the number of people using Wolof as first language exceeds considerably the number of Wolof, whereas in every other case the reverse is true as a general rule (see table 65). This is confirmed by Wioland survey's results from which the pupils who use Wolof as a main language at home may be divided in three categories according to the ethnic origin of their parents. The first category, which concerns those whose both parents are Wolof, represents nearly 69% and is by far the most important in every administrative regions but in Casamance where, in fact, the number of Wolof users exceeds by no less than five times the number of Wolof (see table 65). The second category, including those pupils with one parent only a Wolof, represents 16%. The Wolof parents are in 80% of the cases married either to Peul (38%), Sérér (25%), or Manding (16%) and these proportions vary little regionally. In Wolof country the number of Wolof women married to non-Wolof is superior to the

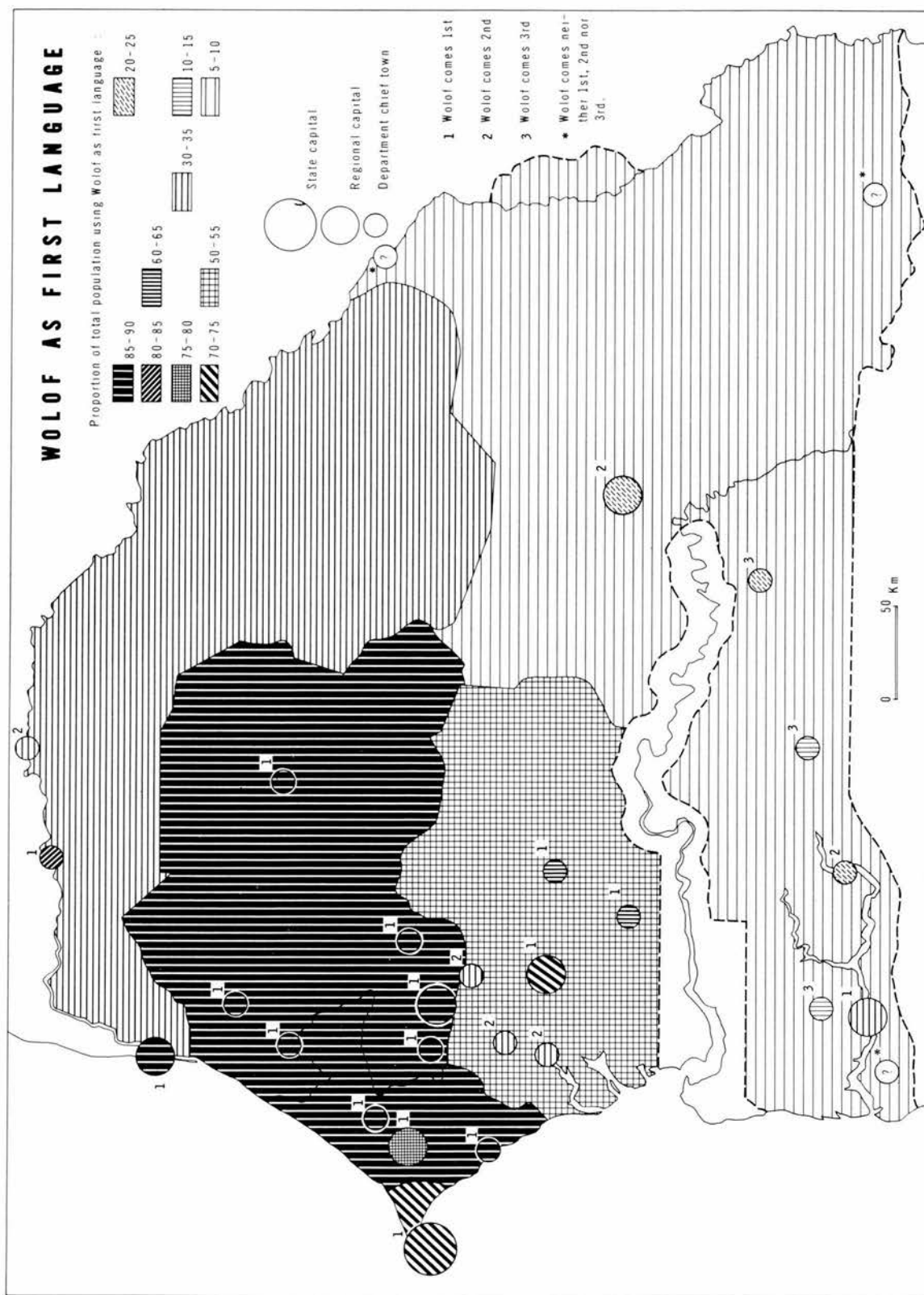
Table 64

FIRST SPOKEN LANGUAGES AND
BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

ADMINISTRATIVE REGION	FIRST SPOKEN LANGUAGES											
	WOLOF		PEUL		SERER		MANDING		DIOLA		OTHERS	
	in %	in number	in %	in number	in %	in number	in %	in number	in %	in number	in %	in number
Cap-Vert	74	409,000	10	57,000	3	17,000	4	23,000	2	10,000	7	38,000
Casamance	5	30,000	25	138,000	-1	400	19	103,000	37	203,000	14	77,000
Diourbel	85	453,000	6	34,000	4	21,000	-1	3,000	-1	3,000	4	21,000
Fleuve	31	116,000	66	243,000	-1	200	-1	1,000	-1	100	2	7,000
Sénégal Oriental	9	14,000	30	47,000	-1	300	28	44,000	-1	300	32	50,000
Sine-Saloum	52	408,000	8	64,000	32	247,000	4	41,000	-1	1,000	4	31,000
Thiès	88	385,000	6	25,000	1	5,000	2	8,000	-1	1,000	3	13,000
SENEGAL	54	1,815,000	18	608,000	9	291,000	6	223,000	7	218,000	6	237,000

Source : Wioland, F., 1965.

N.B. : -1 means less than 1%.



Source: see table 61 and 63.

Figure 36

Table 65

ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION

BY ADMINISTRATIVE REGION

ADMINISTRATIVE REGION	WOLOF		PEUL & TOUCOULEUR		SERER		MANDING		DIOLA	
	% of Wolof (1)	% of Wolof Users	% of Peul & Tleur (2)	% of Peul users	% of Sérér	% of Sérér users	% of Manding	% of Manding users	% of Diola	% of Diola users.
Cap-Vert	60	74	20	10	6	3	4	4	2	2
Casamance	1	5	31	25			18	19	40	37
Diourbel	64	85	15	6	19	4				
Fleuve	20	31	75	66			1			
Sénégal Oriental	7	9	54	30			35	28		
Sine-Saloum	45	52	14	8	34	32	5	4	1	
Thiès	44	88	7	6	44	1	1	1		
SENEGAL	38	54	26	18	18	9	9	7	7	

Main source : Wioland, F., 1965.

(1) Including the Lébou.

(2) The Toucouleur speak an authentic Peul dialect.

number of Wolof men married to non-Wolof (58% against 42%), but in other areas the proportion is exactly inverse (41% against 59%). However the ethnic origin or the sex of the non-Wolof parent has no influence at all, and in almost every case the presence in a household of a Wolof parent leads to the use of the wolof as the family language. In sum, it is neither the father nor the mother, whether he or she be Peul, Sérér, Manding or Diola, who transmits its language to the child but, most significantly, the one who speaks Wolof, and this not only in the Wolof linguistic area but also in every other linguistic area. The third category, which includes those pupils with neither parent a Wolof and represents also as much as 15%, underlines yet more the widespread Wolof influence. In Senegal, when in a marriage the father and the mother are from different ethnic groups, the child in general speaks the language of one or the other. There is only one exception to this rule : in " mixed " marriages where Wolof are not represented the child may use Wolof as first language everywhere in Senegal except in the department of Kédougou. Furthermore, parents of the same ethnic group do not seem to better resist the Wolof influence. Perhaps, one could believe, " mixed " parents would tend to choose Wolof as the family language more easily than parents of the same language but as Wioland points out, it is not the case for in several ins-

tances where both parents are either Peul, Sérer, Manding or Diola, etc ... Wolof is used as the family language.

Wolof in Senegal is not only the most used language in day to day life but also the one whose knowledge is the most widespread among the population. In addition to being used as first language by over 50% of the African population, it is, in fact, also known to 75% of the population. There exist however marked regional variations and if nearly everybody speaks Wolof in certain areas, only a much smaller, though still significant proportion do so in other parts of the country. Senegal can be divided in two distinct zones :

1) A zone where 80% or more of the population know Wolof, which includes both the Wolof and Sérer linguistic areas, Ziguinchor in Diola country and Podor in Peul country. This area, perhaps not surprisingly, covers the entire groundnut basin, comprises most of the urban population and represents in demographic terms over 70% of the population of the country.

2) A zone which covers the Peul, Manding and Diola linguistic areas and where less than 50% of the population know Wolof. In this zone, the department of Tambacounda shows the highest percentage (36%) and every other areas

has one inferior to 20%. However, here again, there exists a marked difference between the rural countryside and the town where the knowledge of Wolof is much more widespread. This is, for instance, the case in the middle Fleuve, in Upper Casamance and in the Diola country (see table 66 and figure 37).

On an administrative basis this means that the majority of the population, that is 80% and most often 90% or more, speak Wolof in Dakar, the capital, in 6 regional capitals, including Ziguinchor the capital of Casamance, and in 4 of the 7 administrative regions. It also means that the ability to speak Wolof is shared by nearly 50% , 20% and 15% of the people living in the Fleuve, Sénégal Oriental and Casamance respectively, and is widely spread in every department chief town of the country (see table 67 and figure 38).

In sum Wolof, used as first language by over 50% of the population and known to nearly 75%, is the only language in process of expansion in Senegal, and is on the way to becoming a national lingua franca. The Sérér, the Peul, the Manding and the Diola may continue to use their own language but the fact that they feel the need to learn Wolof - and in many instances adopt it as their first language - underlines the unique place Wolof has taken in Senegal. As for the evolution of the movement, it seems, as Wioland

Table 66

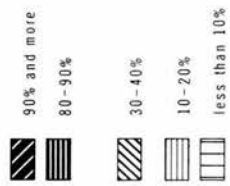
PROPORTION OF WOLOF SPEAKING IN TOWN AND
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE IN AREAS WHERE LESS THAN
50% OF THE POPULATION KNOW THE WOLOF

TOWN	% of Wolof speaking	% of Wolof speaking	REGION (dominant language)
Ziguinchor	80	10	Lower Casamance (DIOLA)
Bignona	37		
Podor	80	10	Dept of Podor (PEUL)
Vélingara	48	6	Upper Casamance (PEUL)
Kolda	28		
Sédhiou	41	4	Middle Casamance (MANDING)

Source : Wioland, F., 1965.

THE UTILITY OF WOLOF

Proportion of the total population able to speak Wolof (1)



• Vélingara: town where the knowledge of Wolof is much more widespread than in the surrounding countryside (see table 63).

(1) Based on administrative areas

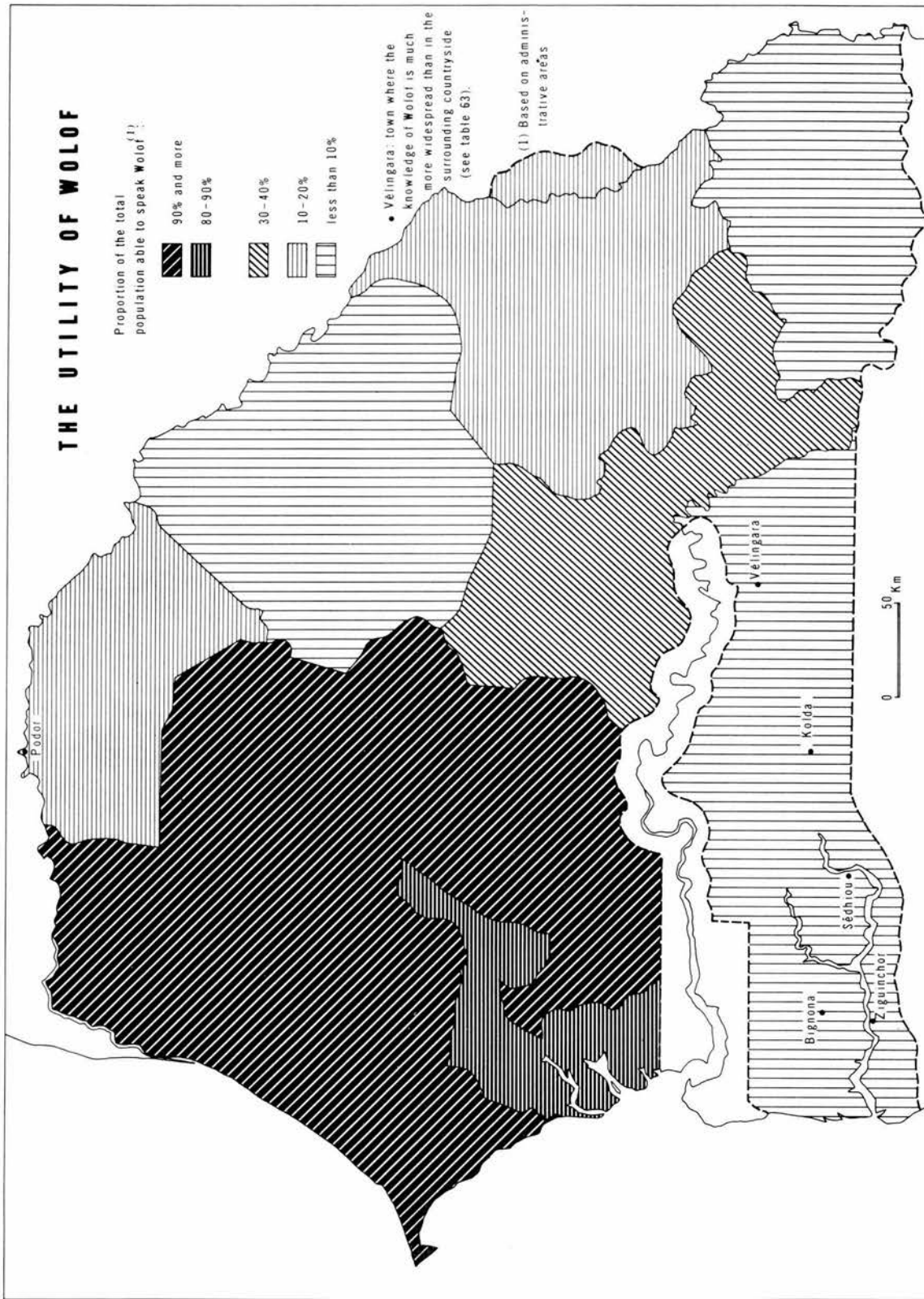


Table 67

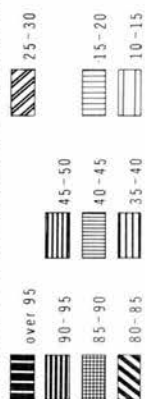
WOLOF SPEAKING DISTRIBUTION
BY ADMINISTRATIVE REGION

ADMINISTRATIVE REGION	% AND NUMBER OF WOLOF SPEAKING	
	%	NUMBER
Cap-Vert	97	535,000
Casamance	14	81,000
Diourbel	99	544,000
Fleuve	47	175,000
Sénégal Oriental	19	30,000
Sine-Saloum	93	722,000
Thiès	98	441,000
SENEGAL	73	2,528,000

Main source : Wioland, F., 1965.

THE WOLOF LANGUAGE IN SENEGAL. TOTAL SPEAKERS BY ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS AND PRINCIPAL TOWNS

Proportion of the total population able to speak Wolof:



State capital

Regional capital

Department chief town

0 50 Km

Source: see table 61 and 66.

Figure 38

pointed out (14), irreversible for two main reasons. First, it touches all the vital centers of the country, that is the capital, Dakar, all the main urban centers not to say every town, and finally the groundnut basin : the most populated area of the country and the most productive. Secondly, this evolution is not only true of given class of the population, but of the society as a whole; not only of the adults but also of the young generation.

Perhaps it is necessary in concluding this chapter to recall that Wolofisation as well as Islamisation has had an all pervading integrating influence. As suggested in the introduction of Part Four, there is no doubt that the linguistic feature has spilled over into political, social and economic attitudes and expectations. Islamisation and Wolofisation were closely linked in their operation and both movements have concurrently contributed to the socio-cultural integration of the Senegalese. Pélissier in his comprehensive study on the peasantry of Senegal notes the importance of this phenomenon on several occasions. In his pages devoted to the Sérér, for instance, he says :

" L'influence traditionnelle des Wolof et celle de la pression moderne de l'Islam se confondent et il est vain

(14) Wioland, F., 1966, p. 250.

de tenter de les dissocier ". He further explains : " Pour un Sérér, se dire et se faire Wolof, c'est d'abord aujourd'hui adhérer à l'islam ; réciproquement il n'est pas, pour un paysan du Sine, de voie plus directe pour assimiler la langue et les comportements des Wolof que de rejoindre les rangs d'une confrérie du Cayor ou du Baol " (15). It is thus logical to see in the expansion of the Wolof language in Senegal the sign of a deeper uniformisation.

(15) Pélissier, P., 1967, p. 291 and 292.

CONCLUSION

This research affirms that there has been national integration in Senegal and that colonialism has played a major role in this process. All the main factors which have directly or indirectly contributed have been analysed. In conclusion, it is appropriate to present in broad outline the evolution of the process and to bring out succinctly the set of causes which has determined this evolution. Before doing this, it is important to question the validity of the data which uphold the analysis.

1. Validity of data.

The choice of data to gather and analyse in order to understand national integration depends on the definition given to the phenomenon and to the diverse theories which tend to explain it. However, the possibilities of research in Senegal and the data available did not permit an ideal approach in this respect. It was impossible to rely entirely on data which directly reflected the phenomenon of national integration. It was thus necessary to refer to data relating to both socio-cultural and territorial integration : two fundamental processes in the development of national integration. Theories of national integration suggested it was suitable to proceed in this way. In fact, it

is accepted that if a political system can achieve a degree of integration out of proportion to the degree of socio-cultural or territorial integration, these two types of integration remain major determinants of national integration. Even if it is not easy to fix the correlation precisely, it may be said that if there is socio-cultural and territorial integration in a political society, there is also national integration. Thus, the problem was to find data which could throw light on these questions. As to national integration itself, we needed information on the political delimitation of the territory, the administrative organisation, the political participation of the population, the level of political consciousness and the degree of loyalty to the government. It was impossible to obtain sufficient information on all these subjects. It was impossible, for instance, really to measure the degree of both political consciousness and loyalty to the new central authority. The absence of important conflict, between the main ethnic groups and between the latter and central authority, could have been used to show the degree of loyalty but it is a very indirect indicator. However very indicative data connected with the delimitation of the territory and the administrative structure were available.

As to socio-cultural integration, one could rely on data concerning the diffusion of Wolof, Islam and urbanisation. Linguistic and religious assimilation are the most evident manifestations of socio-cultural integration. Starting from the principle that every urban society supposes a significant degree of socio-cultural integration, it is possible to conclude that the degree of urbanisation is at least in theory a valid indicator of national integration. In practice however, it must be noted that the significance of such an indicator is relative and varies according to circumstances. Of course, an analysis of senegalese value systems would have determined more precisely and more assuredly the degree of socio-cultural integration. No such information exists and it was impracticable to go into the field and get it.

On a territorial level, it was possible to get data on the regional progression of political control, modern education and means of transportation. On the other hand, nothing detailed existed on the evolution of ethnic, religious and linguistic distributions, and it would have been difficult to fill these gaps. However, the progress of political control, modern education and transportation is so well tied to the process of territorial integration that they may support the analysis.

These various empirical data have plotted the process of national integration in Senegal and allowed an explanation. The methodology of the social sciences justified the use of these data. When so all-inclusive a process is treated in its entirety, it becomes necessary to resort to such a strategy. However, it must be kept in mind that empirical data alone were not sufficient to apprehend the phenomenon and that it was necessary to refer to theoretical principles to make up for the lack of information.

2. The development of national integration in senegal.

No unified political organisation existed in the 19th century in what is today Senegal. There were only populations grouped here and there on an ethnic basis. Each of these groups occupied a given area and had a specific socio-political organisation, religion, language and mode of livelihood. Ethnocentrism was a basic principle in the life of these populations. The mental world of the individuals, their frame of reference, their identity and their loyalty were polarised by the ethnic group to which they belonged. The relations between these various populations, most of the time discontinuous, were not regulated by a supra-ethnic authority and were chiefly military and commercial. At this time, the European presence was limited

to a few peripheral posts. It is only later that the coloniser was in a position to exercise a control on the internal organisation of the ethnic groups and on their relationships. During the second half of the 19th century, the colonial administration gradually asserted its presence. In this period of colonial consolidation, Senegal knew several politico-territorial régimes. However, these régimes, which were temporary and involved different areas, did not really play an integrative role. From 1904, the situation has changed a great deal. First, Senegal was given precise and permanent boundaries which assured the political unity of the territory. This unity greatly fostered national integration. A coherent administrative regime covering the whole territory was then established. The imposition of this regime resulted in the establishment of administrative divisions and the installation of civil servants to assure the relations between the populations and the new central authority. Thereafter, a Senegalese administrative structure developed. The development of this structure was accompanied by the gradual disappearance of the powers of the traditional chiefs. The coloniser brought into force, by successive but rapid steps, a law which defined the individual's status, rights and duties. Moreover, the administration's competence quickly spread into the field of economics. Groundnut production and trade, for instance, was soon strictly regulated.

In the religious and linguistic spheres also, there were significant changes. Traditionally, people practised different religions and spoke different languages. However, within the last one hundred years Islam has become the religion of the majority. In fact, Senegal which in 1850 was far from being Islamic, was 50% Muslim in 1900, 60% in 1940 and 80% in the 1960s. Similarly, more and more Senegalese can speak Wolof and use it as much at home as elsewhere. Yet, it is harder on this subject to give figures which would characterise the progression. Suffice it to say that 75% of Senegalese spoke Wolof in 1965; and it is no exaggeration to affirm that this percentage was less than 50% at the end of the last century.

In the realm of modern education there was also a progression. At primary level, for instance, the number of schools and students has respectively risen from 46 and 4,631 in 1910 to 113 and 16,982 in 1936, to 500 and 106,911 and to 1,319 and 248,749 in 1968. As to the rate of attendance, it has grown from 2% to 37% during the same period. Moreover, regional disparities in facilities and rate of attendance have progressively diminished.

Progress in urbanisation was also very clear. Towns held only 5% of the population in 1910 and again only 9% in 1931, but during the following decades urbanisation was

rapid and intense. In fact, the proportion reached 22% in 1955, 25% in 1960 and 30% in 1970.

There also has been unceasing uniformity in economic activities. In towns, the requirements of urban life were responsible for such a phenomenon, but in rural Senegal it was the groundnut culture. In fact, production of groundnuts has become the main activity of the majority of Senegalese peasants and today their cultivation area extends over a zone which covers most of cultivated Senegal and embraces more than 80% of the rural population of the country. These figures are very impressive if it is considered that until 1850 groundnut was a seed little known about and hardly cultivated in Senegal.

On transportation, the development was also impressive. The railroad network developed from nothing in 1880 to 1035 kilometers in 1935 and the road system, almost unknown in 1935, measured 1659 kilometers of bitumised roads and 17,112 kilometers of permanent earth roads in 1970. Now, owing to this progression, every region of Senegal is linked to the capital city.

3. The evolution of the process of national integration in Senegal.

This study has tried to show the changes through which

national integration in Senegal has been advanced. If a strictly temporal point of view is adopted, it will be seen that these changes were accomplished in four main phases.

The first phase is from about 1850 to 1900. National integration proper in Senegal was preceded by a long period of socio-cultural integration. Two great movements, Islamisation and Wolofisation, contributed to bring closer diverse ethnic groups of the area. During this initial period, while the coloniser extended his control and strived to neutralise and destroy every structure likely to hinder him, Islam became the symbol of resistance and the Wolof the most faithful followers of this creed. There followed a series of politico-religious wars between indigenous groups and the coloniser and amongst the indigenous groups themselves. These conflicts greatly favoured the diffusion of both Islam and Wolof and concurrently contributed to the bringing together of many individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. It is also during this period that the religious and linguistic assimilation that has continued up to the present began.

The second phase is from 1904 to 1945. It is characterised firstly, by the establishment of a coherent and permanent politico-territorial regime the authority of which rapidly extended so as to include economics and law.

It is also during this period that effective colonial occupation was completed. Moreover, groundnut cultivation spread to almost every area possible and the railroad network expanded considerably.

The third phase (1945-1960) was characterised by urbanisation and the establishment of a road network which made the main regions of the country accessible and generally facilitated communications. Until 1945, the rate of urbanisation was slow, but it was much more rapid thereafter. World War Two and the deep changes it gave rise to, have resulted in a very important urban migratory movement, particularly towards Dakar, Thiès, Kaolack and Saint-Louis.

Phase number four began in 1960 with the political independence of Senegal. Independence has led to a greater political participation and to the development of a conscious movement of national integration within which education and socio-economic planning play a major role.

These diverse characteristics of the process of national integration in Senegal were the result of a complex set of causes that have been stressed in the study and that it is now appropriate to sum up and to synthesise.

4. The main causes of the integrative process in Senegal.

Colonialism has directly given rise to political, economic and socio-cultural integrative mechanisms. The delimitation of a territory and the imposition of an administrative structure were directly associated with colonial imperatives. The coloniser, whose aim was to control the area, achieved his goal by ignoring and undermining traditional socio-political organisation and by replacing it with a uniform and centralised structure.

It is also possible to bring out the ties that existed between colonialism and the economy. The coloniser's presence in Senegal did not only involve political but also economic goals. Thus, the first European task was to organise, develop and control the production of groundnuts. So true is this that throughout the colonial period the European and not the indigenous population organised and promoted the groundnut trade. It is no exaggeration to see a direct link between the creation and the evolution of the administrative structure and the commercialisation of groundnuts.

The French coloniser in settling in Senegal, also aimed at the expansion of his civilisation. To this end, he created a system of education in which French was the teaching language

and the curricula directly reflected his values. The coloniser also used the system of education to give the indigenous population a technical and intellectual training which allowed them to contribute to the administration and the economy of the colony.

Moreover, colonialism fostered the Islamisation and Wolofisation of the Senegalese population. To achieve their political and economic goals, the French were forced not only to collaborate with Muslims and Wolof (Wolof being the dominant group among which the most prestigious Marabus were found), but also to put forward policies in keeping with the feelings of the latter. This collaboration was a feature of the expansion of groundnuts as a cash crop.

Finally, colonialism gave rise to the urbanisation of a population which until then had been essentially rural. The coloniser brought to Senegal the modern town, which is the fundamental element of his concept of political and socio-economic territorial organisation. The new economic system could not but engender and develop this form of organisation. The town in Senegal was so intimately associated with colonialism that it is impossible to think of the origin of towns like Dakar, Saint-Louis, Rufisque, Thiès, Kaolack ... without reference to the political and economic history of the French colonial movement in West Africa.

From these diverse processes, national integration in Senegal has risen and developed. These mechanisms, directly or indirectly, have combined progressively to reduce tensions and cultural regional discontinuities and have fostered the development of a national consciousness.

With the creation of a precise and permanent territory, Senegal became a political entity which allowed its inhabitants to identify themselves territorially and politically. The importance of this new geopolitical frame of reference grew as exchanges increased, as the new administrative structure became effective and as modern education progressed. For a growing number of inhabitants, Senegal was no longer a vague concept but a geopolitical reality and an inherent element of their culture.

The administrative régime imposed by the coloniser was a very strong agent of national integration. This regime reduced and neutralised the relevance of the ethnic group to the benefit of a new socio-political structure which the individual was obliged to take into account. The impact of this factor was probably stronger in Senegal than elsewhere, because the coloniser applied direct rule with much rigour and in four key urban centers pursued a real policy of assimilation. This administrative regime, ignoring the socio-political realities, brought together

populations of different ethnic background and gave rise to the development of a sense of territorial-community. In political terms, it is this new center of power which has become the main focus and which serves as the main mobilising agent.

The commercialisation of groundnuts has contributed in many ways to the development of a national consciousness in Senegal. Given the economic importance of this sector, the political authorities soon established a rigid organisation which not only required uniform cultivation methods and economic behaviour, but also delivered a deadly blow to the traditional economic life of each ethnic group. These moves brought people to acknowledge the central authority and the new political society it embodied.

The system of education introduced by the coloniser played a very important role in the development of a sense of national community. Modern education was closely controlled by the administrator who saw in the school an ideal means of disseminating propaganda and a very useful way of transmitting a new system of values and a new frame of reference. Moreover, the school taught several people a common language which fostered contacts and relations between groups and which standardised cognitive processes. Finally, the system of modern education, this very powerful

mechanism of socio-cultural and political integration, gave rise to the formation of a highly homogeneous elite which played, and continues to play, a major role in the political unification of Senegal.

Urbanisation whose origin and development were intimately associated with the colonial situation, has also promoted national integration in many ways. In addition to being a favoured place of contact between people of various ethnic background, the town has imposed a style of life as well as norms and values which have favoured, to the detriment of ethnic characteristics, the standardisation of socio-cultural, economic and political attitudes and expectations. Finally the town, owing to its dominant political position, has given to the urban population the possibility of emphasising its aims and objective in the national plan:

The Islamisation and Wolofisation of the Senegalese gave rise to a socio-cultural integration which then has fostered political integration. These two movements, which are very difficult to dissociate, brought closer Senegalese of different ethnic backgrounds and created among them solidarities which went far beyond religion and language. Indeed, Islamisation and Wolofisation resulted in considerable uniformity of customs and in

social and moral behaviour. In addition, by favouring an understanding between individuals and assuring social and political stability, this socio-cultural integration made more efficient the integrative action of both the administrative regime and the system of education and created favourable conditions for the development of a political consensus.

5. Aspects of national integration which were not considered.

Even if it is claimed to have shown the process of national integration in Senegal and established the main causes of its development, several aspects of the question have not been considered. Perhaps it would be useful, at this stage, to point out other factors whose analysis would have permitted a much better idea of the degree of national integration and a fuller explanation of the process.

Firstly, there is the political participation of the Senegalese in the colonial regime. It would be very interesting to know the type, the frequency and the extent of this participation. Such information on the integrative ability of the colonial regime may still yield precious indicators to measure the degree of national integration.

Nationalism is another aspect which might have merited particular attention. The extent and the intensity of this manifestation of collective consciousness would have indicated the degree of development of national solidarities. The study of this phenomenon would have permitted, as in the case of political participation, a better assessment of the importance of colonialism as an integrative factor, since colonialism itself was its main cause. It would have been interesting, for instance, to show how colonisation has given birth to a nationalist elite who spread the idea of a nation among the populations and who, once in power, put forward policies aimed at national unification.

Among other aspects that would have been interesting to study are the mental world of individuals, the loyalty of the population to the government, the potential for conflict in Senegalese society and trans-ethnic communications. The choice of these aspects follows from the theory of national integration. In fact, national consciousness can only be understood through perceptions whereas solidarities can only be known through feelings of loyalty. Moreover, national integration supposes an absence of acute conflict and good communications between government and citizens and between people from different ethnic backgrounds.

These latter aspects have not been considered because of the methodological and practical requirements they implied. It remains true that a systematic study of national integration in Senegal should take them into account.

6. National integration in Africa.

Inasmuch as the information required to pursue this study goes far beyond Senegal itself and involves the whole of Africa, it would be well in the light of this study, to consider briefly the issue of national integration in Africa.

The ethnic and social structure of the society studied and the regional ethnic distribution are issues that must be considered initially. In Africa, the number of ethnic groups varies considerably from one state to another. Moreover, the distribution of power between ethnic groups presents different patterns. This diversity affects the process of national integration. In certain states, the socio-economic structure is dominated by a single ethnic group whereas in others this is not so. Thus, it may be asked does monopolarity, bipolarity or multipolarity favour national integration most? Is there a relation between the type of ethnic structure of a society

and the processes of socio-cultural and national integration? There is no doubt that the problem of national integration is not the same where racial composition is heterogeneous. Suffice it to think of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Uganda. Finally, regional distribution of ethnic groups gives valuable information which permits a better definition of the type of pluralism involved and a better outline of the problem of inter-ethnic communications.

Colonialism seems to have contributed to the formation of most African political societies. The influence of this factor has varied from one country to another according, in part at least, to the different types of colonial rule. If, for instance, the usual distinction is made between direct and indirect rule, it seems that, in general, countries which have known the former show a more advanced national integration today. Without turning colonialism into the exclusive, decisive determinant of national integration in every case, it must be seen as a background factor which gave rise to important integrative mechanisms and as an agent of reinforcement in the case of self-generating factors.

Religion and language seem to have contributed to the reduction of socio-cultural discontinuities and to the development of a national consciousness. In general,

Islam has given rise to a very powerful process of socio-cultural as well as religious integration. It was the case in North African and Soudanian countries. Elsewhere on the continent however, autochthonous and christian religions have most often remained local forces and in the countries where Islam is weak or absent, there exists a religious pluralism which is an obstacle to socio-cultural and national integration. Linguistic uniformisation and the process of socio-cultural integration that goes with it may also be observed in many African countries. This phenomenon merits particular attention since, as in Senegal, there are in several cases significant links between the diffusion of a common language and the development of national consciousness.

It seems that economic development is also a factor which has played an important role in several states. The importance of this role varies, of course, according to local conditions. In territories where the economy rested on the commercial culture of one product, the economic system often revealed itself as a means of socio-political mobilisation on a national scale. Senegal is a typical case. On the other hand, in certain countries the monopoly of the production of the main cash crop by one ethnic group has had a negative impact on national integration.

In countries where the economy gave rise to a rather uniform regional development, the impact was positive. This last point is important and suggests that the economy may play an integrative role and even serve, through an harmonious regional development, as an essential agent in a strategy of national integration.

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